THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION ASSEMBLED in the desultory spirit made inevitable by the final and definitive refusals of General Eisenhower and Justice Douglas to contest the nomination with President Truman. As the delegates arrived in Philadelphia, almost every hour brought further deterioration in the heterogeneous anti-Truman coalition. First came the defection of New York's Mayor O'Dwyer and the Chicago Democratic leader, Jacob Arvey. Next, James Roosevelt and Frank Hague gave up. Philip Murray had decided to stay away from Philadelphia altogether. And the day before the convention formally convened, the Americans for Democratic Action, which had spearheaded the anti-Truman drive on the liberal side, finally threw in the sponge, postponing until August any attempt to formulate its position in the campaign. That left the Southerners and some still stubborn sectors of the Northern Eisenhower following. At the zero hour, a desperation boomlet developed for Senator Claude Pepper, who responded with an enthusiasm that would have been sensationally welcome had it come from a likelier source. The Southerners, however, showed no interest in the Pepper candidacy, and on the very eve of the convention were still talking about walking out. The C. I. O. delegates were just as cool. When Douglas, despite long-distance telephone pleas from the President, refused to consent to run for the vice-presidency, there seemed little likelihood that the convention, which will be fully reported in our next issue, would be anything more than a dismal wake. The only contest that showed signs of life was over the platform. But as we go to press, it looks as if this, too, would be resolved by the typical expedient of dodging around the more difficult issues. On civil rights, housing, valley developments, and even on Palestine, trimming and compromise seem to be the preferred strategy of the Democratic high command.

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IF GOVERNOR EARL WARREN BECOMES THE next vice-president of the United States, which is surely not improbable, California liberals and progressives will be in the best strategic position they have enjoyed since 1938. Governor Warren's successor, who would serve out the remaining two years of his term, is Lieutenant Governor Goodwin J. Knight. Appointed to the Superior Court of Los Angeles County by Governor Frank F. Merriam, "Goody" Knight might best be described as a lesser and more obnoxious Merriam. On the bench, he was known as "the mender of broken hearts," an inept judge with a passion for publicity. Politically, he is a Republican "stalwart" who has viewed Governor Warren's mild occasional liberalism with deep alarm. The prospect of having this political troglodyte as the leader of the opposition has already injected a new optimism into the ranks of California's rather dispirited liberals. With Warren in Washington, the blurring of political colors which has so confused California voters will come to an end: it will be quite impossible to deck "Goody" Knight in the trappings of liberalism. California progressives are already laying plans for a fight to recapture the state government in 1950.

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WHATEVER THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF the National Education Association may choose to do about it, we doubt that Governor Dewey has won over many teachers by his handling of the Drew Pearson episode. A few weeks ago, Mr. Pearson asserted that, at the recent conference of governors, Dewey had told his fellow-executives that "teacher propaganda [for higher pay] is the biggest lie since Adolf Hitler." Moreover, he had tried to get them to launch a counter-campaign against the teachers' drive and had been allegedly rebuked for this by Governor Warren. Ignoring the N.E.A.'s "ultimatum" challenging him to answer

Notice to Our Readers

We have won a first skirmish in the fight to lift the ban against *The Nation* in the New York schools. In response to a demand by this journal, and to many protests from interested individuals and organizations, the Board of Superintendents called a special meeting for July 13 to hear our case. A full report of this hearing will be made in next week's issue. Meanwhile, a petition, signed by more than seventy members of the New York University faculty, has been submitted to the Board, urging the restoration of *The Nation* to the shelves of the school libraries.

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the Pearson charges within twenty-four hours, Mr. Dewey contented himself with allowing an executive assistant to issue a flat denial, whereupon Pearson waded in again. The Governor, the columnist said, privately restated his position to him at the Philadelphia convention, and even went on to characterize the methods of the teachers' lobby as "damnable blackmail and Hitler's tactics." Having no way of checking on Mr. Pearson's accuracy, we are left to wonder why the Governor has not taken advantage of an excellent opportunity to state positively his stand on teachers' salaries and on the Taft bill to provide federal aid for the schools. Is is because the Republican Eightieth Congress killed that bill? Or because the Republican National Convention dodged the issue entirely? Or perhaps because New Yorkers remember how Dewey himself smashed the effort to get desperately needed state funds for the schools under the Young-Milmoe bill?

*

THE GREAT BRITISH SOCIAL-INSURANCE scheme worked out during the war and popularized in this country under the name of the "Beveridge plan" has at last gone into effect, as modified and strengthened by the Labor Party. Roughly everybody in the country—men, women, and children; wives, widows, and orphans; employed, unemployed, and self-employed—is insured against any social mishap that may befall him. There is protection against unemployment, sickness, injury, motherhood, widowhood; there are retirement pensions and death benefits. The consolidation of these various schemes, most of which have been in existence for many years, permits universal coverage, the elimination of inconsistencies, and the simplification of administration, while the scale of benefits is increased. At the same time, the new National Health Plan offers everyone every necessary type of medical science or hospital care entirely free of charge. Can Britain, impoverished by the war, afford it? It cannot afford to do without it, provided the plans are so administered as to improve health and efficiency. When the British depended on foreign investments for a critical part of their income it was perhaps less necessary to see that large sections of the population were not weakened by illness or poverty; now every last ounce of strength must be put into increased production, and labor is the limiting factor.

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THE REBELLIOUSNESS OF MARSHAL TITO, like the Russian purges of the thirties, is giving rise to all manner of interpretations. They range from a rabid nationalism, supposedly characteristic of Yugoslavs, whether Communists or not, to Rebecca West's theory that the whole episode is a "spectacular piece of humbug" designed to promote a "full Soviet occupation of Yugoslavia." Without pretending to know the answer,

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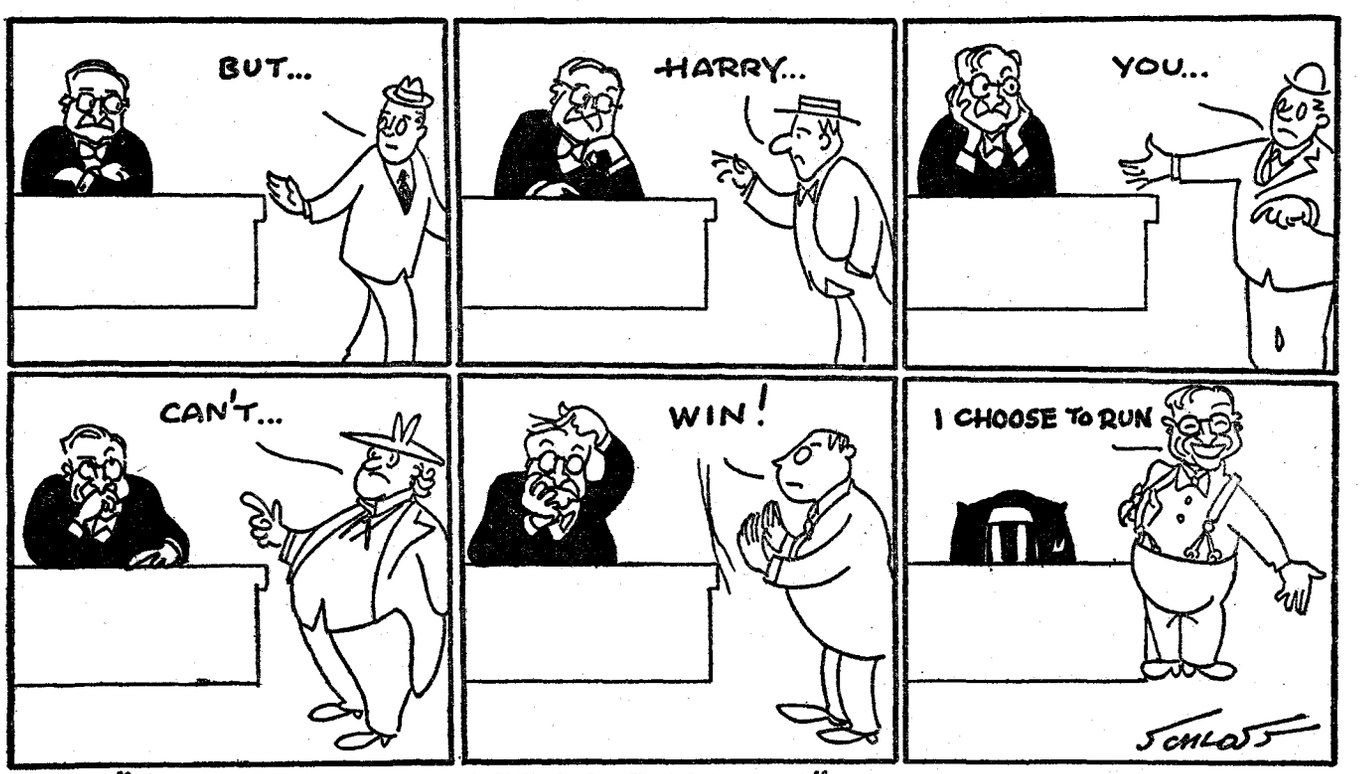
we find the nationalist explanation too simple to cover the facts, a point well made in the article by G. L. Arnold which appears on page 65 of this issue. Actually, strong nationalism combined with fierce protestations of Marxist orthodoxy would more logically have led Tito to maintain his ties to the Cominform while loosening those to the Soviet Union, if such a thing were possible. But he has done just the opposite, blasting the Communist ideological body while reaffirming his devotion to Stalin and the U.S.S.R. This particular approach would seem to indicate that Tito, burning no essential bridges behind him, is relying on highly placed friends in Moscow; that there is, in short, a sharp division of opinion in the Kremlin itself. There are other straws in the same wind: the contrast in all the satellite states between the comments of the party press and the government press, between party officials and government officials. It is improbable, moreover, that Yugoslav students at the Leninist Institute in Moscow would side publicly and vehemently with Tito unless they had some reason to hope that they would not be rushed en masse to Lubianka Prison.

*

CERTAINLY, THIS READING OF EVENTS IS more plausible than Miss West's Byzantine plot. To believe that "Tito is rebelling . . . because he has been told to rebel" is to believe that the Russians have fatuously, if inadvertently, set fire to their own house, that knowing the contagion of rebellion, they deliberately risked allowing the Czechs, for example, to take Tito's insubordination at face value. A direct result of the Yugoslav episode was that the Sokol parade through the streets of Prague was converted into an open demonstration against the Gottwald regime. Thousands of Czechs called for a return of Benes, shouted "Long live Tito," and out of nowhere produced hundreds of American flags, which, according to reports, they kissed and waved at the cheering crowds. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that the Soviet leaders invited such consequences by resorting to a hoax that would have little military justification, given the assumed faithfulness of Tito. If there is indeed a split in the Kremlin, it is apparently between those who, like Zhdanov and the Cominform, want an end to popular frontism and those who still see usefulness in that device. Such breaks are common when a drastic change in the party line is impending and before the decision is irrevocably made. The historical novelty in the present situation is that, unlike dissidents of the past, Tito has a government of his own and thirty-six divisions to back him up.

*

A SIZABLE RUMPUS HAS BEEN KICKED UP IN the Hawaiian Islands by the summary dismissal of Dr. John E. Reinecke of the Farrington High School faculty in Honolulu, and his wife, Aiko T. Reinecke, of the Waialae Elementary School, on vague charges of adherence to "Communist" doctrines. Dr. Reinecke, who has achieved international recognition for such linguistic studies as "Pigeon English," "Trade Jargons and Creole Dialects," and "Language and Dialect in Hawaii," has been an active leader in the labor movement in the



"AND NOTHING CAN BE DONE ABOUT IT" WITH APOLOGIES TO WEBSTER

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islands and in the work of the Hawaii Association for Civic Unity. Petitions signed by 4,000 residents of Honolulu, demanding dismissal of the charges against the Reineckes, were presented to the authorities recently by the Hawaiian Civil Liberties Committee. It is indicative of the jittery state of opinion in the Pacific paradise that the Lions' Club of Honolulu dropped Ray Jerome Baker from membership because he had once brought Dr. Reinecke as his guest to a luncheon meeting of the club. A resident of Hawaii for forty years and an authority on island life, Mr. Baker had been a member of the club for over a decade. Promptly retaining counsel, Mr. Baker demanded and won reinstatement. Restored to membership however, he immediately resigned in protest against the policy of the club, which, he pointed out, has been to use the luncheon meetings as a forum for presentation of "reactionary and anti-social viewpoints but to deny the same privilege to those who disagree." Federal Judge Delbert E. Metzger has granted a temporary injunction in the Reineckes' case, while an appeal is being taken to the Ninth Circuit Court.

Inflation Report

AS THE wage-price treadmill grinds its weary round, certain significant developments are occurring on the economic front. They are not startling enough to make the headlines, but with patience we can dig them out from the technical reports. A recent issue of the Federal Reserve Bulletin contains two items that can be put together to tell an intriguing story.

One concerns the fortunes of consumers. For this purpose, the population is divided into "spending units"—families which pool their major expenses. About half the spending units in the United States received more income in 1947 than in 1946, while about one-fifth received less; the rest, or 30 per cent, had about the same. As prices rose, therefore, a large part of the population found its real income reduced. This is the usual course in inflation. The money gains are unequal, and there are more and more stragglers at the end of the procession. Presumably, the same tendency has continued in 1948.

Consumers' spending as a whole has not decreased; consumers of nearly all income groups are still spending freely. But those who are pinched between higher prices and lower or stationary incomes are sacrificing their savings to buy. About 3,000,000 fewer spending units had savings bonds at the beginning of 1948 than a year before. More than one-quarter of the consumers spent more in 1947 than they received—in other words, they spent savings or borrowed money. Even those who saved something saved less than before.

In 1946, most of the family units whose expenses exceeded their incomes had incomes of $3,000 or less; in 1947, the deficits extended to units with incomes o $5,000, and even, in many cases, to those with more "Dissaving" is creeping up the scale. Yet consumers were still optimistic—more demand was in sight fo cars and houses than the probable output of cars an houses.

The other report has to do with business finance. A everyone knows, corporations have been making a lot o money. Price and wage increases have, by and large, resulted in bigger profits rather than the reverse. Thi might have been expected, since corporations are in a better position to control the relationship between price and wages than are the consumers.

What is particularly interesting, however, is that while consumers save less, business corporations save more. They retained from their operations, after paying dividends, $10.4 billion in 1946, and $14.4 billion in 1947. And they are putting all this and more into new facilities so that they can produce and sell increasing amounts in the future. They have been augmenting their present savings with money they have saved in the past, with bank loans, with the proceeds of security sales, and with money from other sources. A large part of the investment has gone into building up their inventories, and a still larger part into new plants and equipment. In 1947, business spent $16.2 billion on new resources for production, or about twice as much as in 1941 and 75 per cent more than in 1929—the two previous high years for peacetime business investment. A still larger sum will be devoted to this purpose in 1948.

What is happening, therefore, is essentially that business, by raising prices faster than consumers' incomes, is forcing consumers to sacrifice savings in order that business savings may increase. And business is using these savings to prepare to sell more to consumers than consumers are now able to buy.

In a period when prices are soaring because not enough goods are produced, nobody can object because the country's productive capacity is being increased. One wonders, however, what is going to happen when, on the one hand, consumers can no longer buy as much as at present because past savings will be gone and new credit will be exhausted, and on the other hand business comes on the market with a greatly increased supply of goods, resulting from enlarged plant facilities. Obviously, there must then be either unemployment or drastically reduced prices. Would it not be prudent for business to begin to trim prices before the collision?

The publication of two articles announced for this issue—"The Philippines: Independence with Strings" by William Winter and "Should We Rebuild Japan?" by Yole Granada—has been postponed owing to space limitations. The articles will appear in an early issue.

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The Truce Ends

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IT IS safe to assume, as the fighting in Palestine gains momentum, that new tricks will be tried by those who still hope to prevent partition and the survival of a Jewish state—that is, by Bevin and the British Foreign and Colonial offices, and by Loy Henderson and others like him in the State and Defense Departments. They have not given up, nor will they until events force them to. For this reason, the horror of renewed bloodshed must be balanced against the plain fact that a "compromise" such as Count Bernadotte proposed would have meant the betrayal of a plan which was itself a compromise involving very heavy sacrifices on the part of the Jews.

In the first place, it should be stated that Bernadotte was not authorized to produce or promote any plan of long-range settlement. On the contrary, his mission was to supervise the truce and to attempt mediation, but the Assembly explicitly voted down the proposal that any solution should be sought that contravened or went beyond the agreement of November 29. The Count's initiative was therefore gratuitous, and was clearly aimed at weakening Israel and helping the British. These facts should be pointed out by the United States, and the whole maneuver censured as the open piece of pressure politics it undoubtedly was.

The mediator's suggestions comprised, in somewhat diluted form, the earlier British scheme for the expansion of Abdullah's kingdom of Transjordan to embrace not only the Arab parts of Palestine but large sections allotted in the U. N. plan to the Jews, including the Negev and even, astonishingly, Jerusalem itself, with small areas tossed to Syria and Egypt as a sop to their natural fears of an enlarged Transjordan, backed, armed, and controlled by Britain. Bernadotte's proposals, rejected by Israel—and even by the Arabs, who will tolerate no compromise which admits even the existence of a Jewish state—will undoubtedly be held in reserve, to be brought forward again if the invading Arab forces gain the upper hand.

The plan shows what a U. N. representative considers a fair basis of agreement. It proves what scarcely needed proof: that only by its willingness and ability to fight for independence can Israel defeat such maneuvers as this. The Jewish leaders know nothing can now be gained by concessions which undermine its limited strength and only give the Arabs the idea that Israel can be frightened into surrender. This being so, the acceptance by the Israeli government of Count Bernadotte's appeal for an extension of the truce was an act of moral courage, showing the Jews willing even to risk further diplomatic setbacks in the interests of peace.

The Arabs, by rejecting the mediator's appeal, have made themselves solely responsible for the resumption of the fighting. This seems to leave the Security Council no possible escape from doing what it should have done last April—declaring the Arab states aggressors and applying sanctions to end their threat to the general peace and security. As this is written, Count Bernadotte is making his report to the Council. Whatever "ambiguities" were read into his earlier report, it is inconceivable that he can devise a formula which exonerates the Arabs. The facts are known and admitted. Action should follow without delay.

But will it? Will Bevin and his American spokesmen abandon their hope of buying Arab friendship with Jewish lives? It is no longer a secret that, *even during the truce,* London, anticipating the rejection of the Bernadotte plan, gave the Arab armies detailed instructions for bombing Haifa as soon as the fighting was resumed. This cynical performance indicates to what lengths Britain's policy-makers will go to hang on to the controls in the Middle East. It indicates something else: Israel's battle at Lake Success will succeed in proportion as its army forges ahead in Palestine.

SO FAR, the renewed warfare favors Israel. The capture of Lydda, Ramle, and the Lydda airport constitutes a victory of first-rate importance. If this base and Haifa port can be held, the military position of the Jews will be hard to break. The bombastic Mr. El Khouri of Syria may proclaim Arab readiness to die by atomic bombing rather than yield an inch of Palestinian soil to the "invading" Jews, but his words should be discounted in the light both of history, and of present-day realities. Despite Egyptian bombings, the only effective fighting force among the invaders is the Arab Legion. Arab fanaticism is real and easily ignited, but it has always existed side by side with an immense disinclination to engage in long-drawn-out, dangerous, and unrewarding battles. Arabs are hit-and-run fighters. A few sharp defeats and a dearth of loot will do much to diminish Arab ferocity; especially since they will at the same time diminish British subventions and other sorts of encouragement to the Arabs.

It was the bravery and unexpected success of Haganah, as much as any other single factor, that defeated the British-State Department attempt to destroy partition last April. Today, Israel's army again holds the fate of Jewish Palestine in its hands. Its position is at least as strong as when the truce began, and the Israeli government has gained an immense moral advantage by its responsible and civilized behavior during the truce. If the Jewish army can push back the invaders—particularly Bevin's mercenaries, the Arab Legion—its diplomatic enemies in London and Washington will find maneuvering increasingly difficult.

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But the Jews cannot repel aggression unless they have the arms to do it with.

IF HE ever intends to act, President Truman must act quickly. He should give de jure recognition to the Provisional Government of Israel, and name James G. McDonald, now his special representative, as ambassador to the new state. As part of our normal relations with a friendly state, he should arrange for Israel to receive needed arms. He should authorize a loan to the Jewish state. He should remove Loy Henderson from his post in the State Department. These are acts wholly within the President's powers as head of the government which was the first to give de facto recognition to Israel.

There is one thing more that Mr. Truman can and should do. He can direct the American delegation to support a motion in the Security Council to designate the Arab states as aggressors and to apply an arms embargo against them. Such action by the United States would be leadership in the direction of peace, much more effective than any further "mediation." For what the Arab states have lacked is concrete evidence that this country will no longer tolerate their British-subsidized rebellion.

There is nothing to stop Mr. Truman. The American people are overwhelmingly on the side of Israel. They are ashamed of the wavering attitude of our government. The Republican Party has adopted a very vigorous plank on the Palestine issue. If Mr. Truman really wants to take that issue out of politics, as he says, all he needs do is to follow the lines suggested above. Failure to act now, when all expedients have failed and the facts lie nakedly exposed, would be finally to abandon our own professed policy and make the United Nations no more than a modest adjunct of Aramco and the Arab League.

"My Own Pinch of Salt"

BY ROBERT FITZGERALD

[After waiting for some time for a liberal, balanced reply to Paul Blanshard's series of articles on the Catholic church, The Nation *is glad to publish this "critical reflection" on them by Robert Fitzgerald. Mr. Fitzgerald is a Catholic poet who has contributed both verse and reviews to the book-review pages of this magazine. He is the author of "Poems" and "A Wreath for the Sea." Mr. Blanshard will write his comments on this article for an early issue.]*

TO WRITE against the church is a grave thing, but to propose a defense of it smacks of a certain levity. The church is under the care of God and His temporal providence, and it needs none of my defending. But if we assume, as I should like to, that this magazine puts some value on exact truth, sound inferences, and a sense of proportion, then at least a page or two of critical reflection on Paul Blanshard's articles is certainly in order. In what follows I pretend to do no more than bring my own pinch of salt.

Let me try to put the case against the church as Mr. Blanshard understands it. The church, according to his observation, consists of a hierarchy and a laity; the hierarchy is celibate and has authority over laymen, upon whom it imposes ancient ritual practices and policies on conduct handed down by a pope and cardinals in Rome. The fact that Rome is the seat of authority makes the church un-American, and the fact that its policies are not voted upon makes it undemocratic; in addition, the hierarchy, being celibate, cannot give intelligent counsel on sex. No Catholic, nevertheless, is safe from the regulations of the church even in the most private matters: his birth may occur because his parents have been forbidden abortion; he must learn Christianity as he grows up; he is not at liberty to have sexual intercourse except in marriage, or to use contraceptives, or to divorce his wife; and to help him at his death the intrusive priest again appears, laboring then, perhaps, under a less crippling disqualification than in other days when it was a question of those joys of life.

Moreover, this order of things is one that the church is not content to keep to itself but is always trying to extend. In the past the church has been so successful in some countries that a majority of their people are now Catholic, and a real possibility exists that at some future time this may be the case in the United States. Therefore all Americans, including those Catholics who are good democratic citizens, should open their eyes to the tyrannical ways of the hierarchy in matters of sex, obstetrical surgery, education, and science, and to the record of the pope in his dealings on behalf of the church with the states of the world.

As to education, the hierarchy has often stated that where schooling omits religious instruction it is unworthy of the name, thus—and sometimes explicitly, too—finding fault with the great public-school system of the United States. Most Roman Catholic parishes are called on to help support primary schools of their own—unfair competitors of the public schools since they are usually staffed by unsalaried nuns—where children are indoctrinated with Catholic beliefs. Freedom of thought, too, is

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interpreted otherwise by the church than by many liberals, for the church believes that we have free minds in order that we may learn and acknowledge demonstrable truth, and is so brazen as to place Christian doctrine in that category.

How can a Catholic be a real scientist or assent to the methods of science when his church encourages him to believe in saints and miracles, to venerate relics of dead holy people, to think that it does him any good to visit shrines or carry devotional objects? Medieval superstitions all; sorcery indeed, or fetishism, to attribute *virtu* to merely material things. Moreover, devotional things are actually *sold*. . . .

At this point let me pause and see what damage the church has sustained.

ONE of the most perplexing notes struck by our commentator was his note of confidence that enlightened Catholics would agree with him; that they were "not responsible for the undemocratic policies of their priests" and would "force a change" in those "policies." Mr. Blanshard indulged in so many discourtesies that I shall not refrain from the mild one of asking if the ideas "principle" and "policy" are interchangeable for him. At any rate, among the "priestly policies" that he attacked were the principles of the church in regard to the generation and protection of human life. If these principles in themselves are undemocratic he made no attempt to prove it, and this was as well for him because they are founded in an exalted conception of the equality of human beings before God—a conception similar to the one that moved the founders of our republic to declare that all men are created equal. Believing in its principles, the church applies them, firmly and clearly but with all possible mercy, to the circumstances of life and death. Our critic scoffed at some of the applications as at variance with Freudianism or not very advanced or too stern for any sensible man. He implied that democratic rule would be established if such matters were submitted to a vote.

Anyone who thinks this reasonable ought to learn that the vote has long since been taken and is unanimous. For what is the Roman Catholic church? It is not a mass of fools enslaved by a few Italian charlatans. It is the body, or society, of all who, having the gift of faith in Christ, recognize the Bishop of Rome as St. Peter's successor and therefore preeminent among apostles. This is its definition, and this is the fact. I do not say that it is self-evident to the agnostic mind, but it is a truth that any serious inquiry will soon arrive at, whether directed to dogma or to history. *Ecclesia* is a Greek word roughly translatable as "the gathering of those who are called," and those in the gathering are its members—not its subjects, for the church is not an empire, and not its citizens, for the church is not a state. They are of all races and nations and include the living and the dead. Any member who disavows the principles of the church in fact "excommunicates" himself; he simply leaves the communion of the faithful.

The first apostles were called by Christ to hear His truth and to witness the miracles by which He proved His divine nature and authority; as bearers of that truth and authority they were then sent to teach all nations, and the Savior told them that they could forgive sins in His name. The priesthood has exactly the same vocation. Priests are messengers of the good Christian news—the fulfilment of the Old Law and the redemption of men—to those who have not heard or believed it, and they are charged with keeping it before the minds of those who have. In the society of the church they are, therefore, members chosen for a higher service and more constant dedication than the rest. It is not the priest's authority that the layman recognizes, for the priest is a man like himself, usually better, but conceivably worse. It is rather the authority of Christ, in whose name the priest speaks, whose sacrifice of life he imitates, and in whose commemoration, as commanded, he daily repeats the consecration of bread and wine as the Savior's true human and divine substance, in order that men in their transitory flesh may partake of it.

Critics of the church condemn it for being ancient, then they condemn it for being modern; they cannot believe in the Mass because it is old, or in Catholic teaching because in nineteen centuries of application it has grown more copious than the New Testament. But nobody has ever demanded of mathematicians that they live as Euclid did, or use a smooth beach to inscribe their circles on, or refrain from reasoning further upon geometric principles.

Mr. Blanshard could not show, in the moral theology of the church, one item inconsistent with the principles of its founder. He made a single attempt to do so, insisting that Christ said nothing against contraception, and complimenting Him on but "one distinctive contribution to sexual ethics"—that is, His reproach of those who were about to stone the woman taken in adultery. This is typical of our critic's carelessness and misinformation. Adultery and fornication and onanism were all grave offenses under the law that Christ said He came to fulfil, and when He added His mercy and His warning against hypocrisy He did not alter the status of such acts. He said, in fact, "Let him who is without *sin* among you cast the first stone."

NOW, if you take Christianity seriously you must take seriously the position and the argument I have been outlining; that is, you must take it seriously enough to make some effort to understand it and to represent it accurately in discussion. It is fair to infer that our critic does not take Christianity seriously; how, then, could he

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presume to speak on behalf of Christian men? If Catholics were annoyed by his articles, it was not simply because he attacked the church but because he affected to attack it as a friend of theirs while showing them neither respect nor understanding. And if a Lutheran Superintendent of Schools in New York found his articles offensive, it seems unlikely that he would have found them so merely because they criticized Roman Catholicism.

Anyone, I think, might be offended by some of Mr. Blanshard's feats of imputation. Freedom to think in his fashion is, indeed, not highly prized by the church, whose thinkers put much trust in logic—a poor thing, perhaps, but in so far as we are rational beings our own. In a healthy democracy there are many things—matters of fact and juridical matters—undeterminable by popular vote; so too in all exact intellectual fields. Millions of people may hold a certain opinion, but that is not conclusive with the church as to its truth or wisdom; a single man may express it with genius, but that is not conclusive either. The Christian revelation is true; it is also demonstrable. The church would gladly and patiently prove it true to Mr. Blanshard if he were not convinced beforehand of its falsity; and the church wishes truth and goodness taught in school rather than opinions and ill-will. The teaching orders of the church have given their lives to the vocation of teaching—a fact that can hardly be disabling, though you might think so after reading the Blanshard articles.

As for the attitude of the church toward science in general, it is similar to that of the most profound scientists and philosophers of science, who know how little scientific methods have enabled them to know. Catholic higher education has, it is true, emphasized the humanities—an emphasis that secular educators, warned by eminent scientists of scientific barbarism, have lately been trying to recover. Our critic, however, suggested that Catholic scientists were afraid to encroach on "priestly preserves" and so had become famous for their investigations of the weather and earthquakes. The only truth in this is that some Catholic scientists have indeed become famous in the fields mentioned; but it is also true that the Mendelian law is named for an Augustinian monk and that the Abbé Le Maître collaborated in thinking out the present hypothesis of the expanding universe. If science were excluded from priestly preserves it is hard to see how two priests could have made important professional discoveries in genetics and astronomy.

One must smile at hearing Mr. Blanshard take the church to task for honoring and seeing efficacy in *material* things. Since the church adores God the creator of everything, it recognizes glory and wonder in His creation and in the structure of nature. But the church neither identifies God with nature nor finds Him impotent to intervene in nature. Thus the church's conception of God —a conception that, to say the least, does no violence to reason—is in accord with its experience of the miraculous. Our critic assumes all miracles to be superstition and imposture, adducing, as if it supported his view, the fact that "only 300 to 400 cures which medical science cannot explain" had been claimed up to 1931 at the shrine of Lourdes, and "perhaps one person in a thousand is helped physically." Are we then to understand that his complaint is against the *rarity* of miracles? If but one is admitted, the possibility of all cannot be called in question. In fact, however, although he let the ground of his argument shift for a moment, he would surely not admit even one miracle; all those that are attested he dismissed, saying, "We have learned a great deal about psychosomatic disabilities"—as if no proof were needed that the disabilities in question at Lourdes were "psychosomatic" ones, or as if medical science before 1931 knew nothing of the facts now given that name.

The veneration of the church for its shrines, and for holy men and women—indeed, the very canonization of saints—could not be accounted for by our critic except as means of exploiting credulity for profit. It follows that we are dupes who believe in holiness, and he is wise who does not; and the church whose religious are vowed to poverty, whose rectories and convents and cloisters are noted for their frugality and plainness, must busy itself with the perpetration of frauds for money, like a chain of cinemas. With respect to relics, and scapulars, and medals, and images of saints, and crucifixes, and holy pictures, dislike for these articles is common outside the church, and in the case of some examples a Catholic of cultivated taste may appear to share the dislike—but only on aesthetic grounds, be it noted. For in the Catholic use of all these things there is at least benignity and simplicity of heart; no malevolence, no witchcraft, nothing to make people hate or fear one another.

IS THE church un-American? It is more than American, for it is catholic and universal. The world as the church sees it is one world; it always has been, and always will be, since it is the world of men under God. Toward the changing forms of government and the programs of politics the church as such remains disinterested except when they are clearly anti-Christian or anti-Catholic, hence the opposition of the church to Marxian socialism. If Mr. Blanshard may be taken as an exponent of socialism, his rough ways with delicate matters may indicate some of the grounds of opposition. If the Vatican is fascist because it has sought the well-being of the church in its relations with fascist governments, then by the same token the government of the United States is fascist. The members of the church, including priests, are men and share the local interests and passions of men; not only does the church acknowledge that they may be mistaken

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in worldly affairs, but it would be heresy in the church to deny that priests, and the Pope himself, may sin seriously in more complex ways than our critic is even aware of. As followers of Christ, however, they know that they are responsible before God for what they do and say, and must humbly confess and repent their sins and errors. As followers of Christ also they must see earthly power and clashes of power under the aspect of eternity—an aspect that greatly reduces the pretensions of all.

Tito's Heresy

BY G. L. ARNOLD

London, July 1 (by air)

COMING on top of the Berlin blockade, the dock strike, and England's defeat in the cricket match against Australia, this week's upheaval in Tito's Arcadia has subjected intellectual London to one of the severest tests in recent months. Whitehall and Fleet Street were worst hit by the surprise of the excommunication crisis occurring in Belgrade just when everyone was getting ready for a possible showdown in Finland and a prolonged test of nerves in Berlin. Since the war's end London has been priding itself on its profound understanding of Eastern European thought currents, largely on the strength of the presence here of numerous refugees from the other side of the Curtain, including a number of Socialists who had refused to be merged. The event therefore should not have come unheralded, especially since it was known that there had been a bitter factional dispute inside the Belgrade regime. Yet as late as last Sunday, the day before the whole façade of Eastern unity blew up, the cognoscenti were talking of "an internal crisis of the Bukharin type," and crediting Tito with the intention of eliminating all elements not completely subservient to the Kremlin. The Foreign Office seems to have had no inkling of what was happening, but on this occasion its surprise was shared by those unofficial critics who have successfully punctured its pretensions about certain other issues, such as Palestine. We appear to be moving into a phase where the old rules don't apply any longer, possibly because the sovietization of Eastern Europe has been so far completed that entirely new tendencies are coming into play. On this reading of events the Yugoslav blow-up marks the end of the postwar *Gleichschaltung* of Eastern Europe and the first genuine internal crisis of the new Soviet-controlled system—the operative phrase being "internal."

From all accounts it is this view which is being favored in official quarters here, now that the first surprise has passed. Whether it is also held in Washington appears doubtful, to judge from the prompt release of information suggesting that the United States may be about to take certain financial assets claimed by Belgrade out of the refrigerator where they have been stored since 1945. To the French this hasty reaction seems to have come as fresh confirmation of their private conviction that American foreign policy lacks finesse. Why, they ask, damage Tito's reputation for Leninist orthodoxy by appearing to relent on his money claims, when this is the moment above all others for non-Communists to preserve a discreet silence? The Paris Communist daily *Ce Soir* promptly reduced the whole event to the level of a "deal" by blazoning the headline: "Fifty-five Million Dollars for Tito."

Marshal Tito

France is probably the country where, next to Italy, the Communists stand to lose most from the showdown between Moscow and Belgrade, whatever its eventual outcome, if only because the French Communist Party has permitted itself the incredible blunder of publicly becoming involved in a dispute which seems to turn, in one of its aspects, on the subject of peasant proprietorship. French politicians of all parties except the Communist could hardly believe their eyes, and their luck, when they saw Jacques Duclos's signature in *l'Humanité* under the Cominform resolution denouncing the Belgrade regime for coddling the peasants. It will be a long time before the French Communist Party has heard the last of this remarkable escapade, which may cost it hundreds of thousands of votes in next October's municipal elections. If the French Socialists were less ineffectual and their daily, *Le Populaire*, less moribund, this might be the occasion for a dramatic comeback. As it is, De Gaulle is more likely to benefit.

Meanwhile one continues to wonder what will hap-

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pen next. The view that Tito is merely a sort of Yugoslav Porfirio Díaz who toys with "ideological" phrases that neither he nor his tough lieutenants take seriously may shortly become Stalinist orthodoxy, at least in the pages of the *Daily Worker,* but it is not accepted by those persons who have had any kind of first-hand acquaintance with the Yugoslav government. The totalitarian character of the Belgrade regime is as pronounced as the personal ambitions of its leaders, and modern totalitarianism is impossible without a mass following and an organized one at that, which in turn demands loyalty to some sort of political creed. This makes it almost impossible for Tito to do what the Cominform accuses him of plotting, namely, to transform himself into the dictator of "an ordinary bourgeois republic." Nationalism *per se* is inconceivable as a political platform in a country like Yugoslavia, with half a dozen warring nationalities held together precariously by the official cult of communism, with Tito as its symbol. Indeed, without some acceptance of his claim to Communist orthodoxy, Tito could not maintain himself for five minutes. Yet it is precisely this claim upon the supra-national loyalty of his followers which the Cominform has challenged.

One has to go back to the age of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation for a parallel to what is happening in Eastern Europe today, which may be the reason why the "diplomatic correspondents" have been so much at sea all this week. Their reasoning tells them that the quarrel is about Trieste, Albania, the Greek frontier, the South Slav federation, and perhaps also about the tempo and the methods of sovietization—that is, the extent of freedom to be left to the peasants during the present stage of Eastern Europe's "NEP pseudo-Bolshevism." Yet the methods employed in this struggle are those of an earlier age which we have almost forgotten, and there is a temptation to dismiss the "ideological" dispute as camouflage, as if the term "ideology" meant *any* kind of thinking.

Some commentators have expressed surprise that Moscow loosed its verbal thunderbolt before having made sure of control over the "real" levers of power in Belgrade, but there could have been no deadlier challenge to Tito's authority than this excommunication. There is a form of hard-boiled realism which can be highly unrealistic. In Eastern Europe, at least, communism is now a highly organized creed, with sacred books, heretics, schisms, a mass of loyal believers, and a head who is emperor, pope, and grand inquisitor in one and who employs spiritual means for the furtherance of temporal aims in the best classical tradition. To maintain himself in power Tito must acquire something like the headship of the national Communist church of Yugoslavia. Compared with that of his sixteenth-century predecessors, his position is dangerous in the extreme, for his advisers have not had time to work out an independent theology.

Science Notebook

BY LEONARD ENGEL

THE division between the Soviet Union and the West has almost isolated Russian science. Three years ago the Soviet government took a step toward establishing closer contacts with foreign science by bringing prominent scientists from nearly all the United Nations to Moscow for the 220th anniversary of the Academy of Sciences of the U. S. S. R. Between sessions of the Academy the visitors had an opportunity to meet their Soviet opposite numbers, engage in informal discussions, and arrange for personal correspondence and subsequent meetings. No doubt because of the turn of international events, nothing came of this beginning.

For a year and a half it has been difficult for foreign scientists to visit Soviet laboratories. Moreover, about a year ago, the Russian government issued a regulation requiring Soviet scientists to conduct correspondence with scientists abroad through the Foreign Ministry. Russian and foreign scientists have therefore practically no contacts except at occasional international scientific congresses and in the World Health Organization, the one U. N. agency that has succeeded in bringing countries in the Russian and Anglo-American spheres together.

Contrary to widespread reports, there has been no halt in the export of Russian technical and scientific books and periodicals. Roughly seventy-five journals are at present available through the Four Continent Book Corporation of New York. Any military censorship of Russian technical publications appears to operate before publication, as it does here. Subject to the limitations of the paper supply, anything published in the U. S. S. R. can be exported. However, last fall the Soviet government ended the practice of Russian scientific journals of printing titles and abstracts of articles in English, French, and German. The Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences has become exclusively a Russian-language periodical, whereas formerly many of its most important articles were printed in their entirety in one of the traditional languages of science.

SINCE the profession of scientist is comparatively recent in origin, it is without an established code of obligations and rights such as governs medicine and law. To fill this gap, the World Federation of Scientific Workers is circulating a unique "Charter for Scientists" for adoption by its nineteen affiliates in fifteen countries.

The charter, a document of several thousand words, imposes on scientists the obligation to "maintain the international character of science, to aid agencies seeking to prevent war, and to resist the diversion of scientific effort to war aims." It condemns secrecy, making the right to free publication one of the conditions of work demanded for scientists. It is also sharply critical of the widespread practice of subordinating scientists to non-scientists in research agencies and insists that scientists be permitted to share in the management. Finally, the charter urges free education for student scientists and the inclusion of science in all school curricula. Like music and art, it believes, science should be an integral part of every individual's cultural background.

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Scandinavia Between the Blocs

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Stockholm, June 21

MY LAST visit to these attractive and progressive northern lands was in the summer of 1939. At that time the shadow of the coming war was darkening all Europe, and I wished to find out what attitude the Scandinavian countries were going to take when the guns opened fire. In all three there were small groups of Nazi fellow-travelers, but unquestionably the vast majority of the people sympathized with the Western Allies: they knew that a victory for Hitler would mean the end of their own democratic way of life.

At the same time they did not want to become involved, and they were relying on the magic of "neutrality" to keep them outside the war, as, rather miraculously, it had done in 1914-18. Having strong doubts about Hitler's respect for neutrality, I inquired into their defenses. They were not much. Sweden had a small but efficient navy and the nucleus of an air force; Denmark and Norway had only some antiquated coastal batteries and a few patrol vessels. In Oslo the Minister of Defense told me, in effect, that Norway was relying on the British navy. But when I asked whether any arrangements had been made to enable Britain to render aid effectively, he said, "No; that would be unneutral."

This year I have again made the round of the Scandinavian capitals seeking information from Cabinet ministers, political leaders, editors, and other prominent persons about their countries' foreign policies. Once more the international atmosphere is highly charged, although this time there is no reason to believe that the storm is about to break, and it is still possible to hope that it may blow over. Nevertheless, with the Eastern and Western blocs marshaling their forces, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark are under some pressure to declare their positions.

Again there is no doubt where any of them stand morally and emotionally. All three are countries with old parliamentary traditions; all three have powerful Social Democratic movements which put the accent on the word "democratic"; all three have evolved mixed economic systems under which they have made great progress. Thus the Soviet brand of democracy has very little appeal here, and the local Communist parties are a declining rather than a rising force. The Czech coup hit them hard. It seemed to indicate to the Scandinavians that accommodation with Russia on a "live and let live" basis was next to impossible. The Soviet government, people felt, had indicated all too plainly that what it wanted from its neighbors was subservience, not friendship.

The fact that most Scandinavians dislike the Russian system and are fearful of Russian aggression does not imply an entirely uncritical attitude toward the Western powers, particularly the United States. They find American politics difficult to understand, and they are worried about the stability of the American economy. Nor do they absolve the American government from all responsibility for the present international impasse. One Danish editor I talked to said he thought American policies since the war were almost as unfortunate as those of Moscow. "But," he added, "we in the North cannot simply say, 'A plague on both your houses,' nor can we decide our foreign policy purely on a moral basis. Our political traditions, our culture, and our economy link us inseparably to the West, and if we are forced to choose, there is only one direction in which we can go."

Sweden, at any rate, is still hoping it will not be forced to choose. Its Labor government has once again hoisted the banner of neutrality which has kept the country out of war since 1815 and is trying to persuade Norway and Denmark to follow suit. In a speech in the Riksdag on February 4, 1948, the Foreign Minister, Professor Unden, said:

> The government is convinced that an overwhelming majority of the Swedish people do not wish to join any bloc of the great powers, be it by an explicit pact of alliance or by silent understanding of common military action in the case of a conflict. If the United Nations function according to their program, Sweden's attitude in such situations will be determined by consideration of the pledges laid down by our membership. If the new security organization is undermined by a formation of political blocs or is otherwise paralyzed in its capacity to act, our country must have liberty to choose the path of neutrality. Whether or not a policy of neutrality will be possible in this imagined situation is not solely dependent on ourselves, and the prospects cannot be assessed in advance. But we do not wish by advance commitments to deprive ourselves of the right and opportunity to remain outside a new war.

Because of their recent experience Norway and Denmark are more than doubtful about the efficacy of such a neutral policy in the world of today. They feel they cannot rely on declarations of neutrality to save them from invasion and occupation when their own means of resisting aggression are extremely small. Denmark in particular, with a long, wide-open coast, is practically indefensible, and its position at the entrance to the Baltic gives it major strategic value in any conflict between East and West.

The strategic significance of Norway in such a war

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would also make it an object of contention. Its Arctic area is a crucial sector for the Soviet Union since it commands the route to the White Sea and could be used as a bomber base against northern Russia. Britain has an equal interest in southwestern Norway, with its great airfield at Stavanger and its innumerable deep fiords which form ideal submarine bases. As the last war proved, this area in hostile hands is like a loaded pistol held to Britain's head. Another factor to be considered is the Norwegian merchant fleet, now rapidly regaining its pre-war tonnage, which as a carrier for the world earns a large part of the national income. In another war as in the last it would be invaluable to the Western powers, but if it were chartered to them, Russia might well feel a doubt about Norway's neutrality. On the other hand, if it were tied up, the national economy would be ruined.

GEOGRAPHY and experience compel Norway and Denmark to look to the West. Their peoples realize that adherence to a Western European pact, with or without American guaranties, does not offer any absolute assurance against invasion. But they are coming to the conclusion that a strong collective-security group, with every member pledged to come to the assistance of any participating country subjected to aggression, may be the best method of preventing the dreaded clash between East and West.

The Swedes think that geography and experience teach them a different lesson. Their country faces east as well as west, and though it has more possibilities of defense than Denmark, it is almost equally exposed. Stockholm is a very short bombing run from the Russian base in southwestern Finland. If Sweden allied itself with the West, the Russians would naturally expect it to be used as a springboard for an attack on them, and would make its occupation a primary objective. Could Britain or America move quickly enough to forestall the Red Army? The Swedes are very skeptical about that.

In the recent war neutrality served Sweden well, and it probably helped the Allies more than Swedish participation would have done. It was of course a somewhat qualified neutrality. Soon after the Nazi seizure of Norway and Denmark, Sweden was constrained to afford transit facilities to German troops and to make other concessions to Berlin. But later, as the country succeeded in strengthening its defenses and as Hitler's regime began to totter, it redressed the score by affording important aid to Norway. And all through the war a large part of the Swedish merchant fleet carried goods for Britain and America.

It is natural enough, perhaps, for the Swedes to think that they have at least a chance of being lucky a third time. But they are not trusting to luck alone. The Swedish government believes that neutrality is more likely to be respected if aggression can be rendered costly. Consequently it is continuing the rearmament begun during the war, with emphasis on defensive weapons, such as jet fighter planes, which are being bought from Britain. The Swedish military budget is around 800,000,000 kronor, which compares with a pre-war figure, adjusted to reflect today's high prices, of about 300,000,000 kronor.

None of the opposition parties in Sweden, anxious as they are, with a general election approaching, to beat the government with any useful stick, are prepared to challenge the general principles of Professor Unden's foreign policy. That would be bad political tactics, for although there is a vocal body of opinion that demands adherence to the Western bloc, a majority of citizens in all parties appear to be firmly convinced of the merits of neutrality. Consequently, the strongest opposition group, the Liberals, who under the leadership of Professor Bertil Ohlin have good hopes of gaining seats from the Social Democrats, are anxious to disassociate themselves from the "Western" views powerfully advocated by Professor Herbert Tingsten in *Dagens Nyheter,* the leading liberal newspaper.

The strongest pressure on the Swedish government to change its foreign policy is external not internal. If Norway, which also has a Social Democratic regime, definitely aligned itself with the Western bloc, the reaction in Sweden would be profound. For this would split the Northern group of nations and leave Sweden isolated. Such a diplomatic defeat would be a heavy blow for the Swedish government and would probably cause many citizens who now support neutrality to reconsider their position.

The present object of the Swedish Foreign Office, therefore, is to promote a mutual-defense pact for the Northern countries. Sweden, as the best armed and most industrialized of the three countries, would thereby promise aid to the other two in preparing to meet aggression. There is a suggestion of standardization of arms and training and, perhaps, a combined general staff. Norway and Denmark are by no means averse to such a pact. They realize, as the Norwegian Foreign Minister, Halvard Lange, said in a recent speech at Malmoe, that "a practical coordination of the peace defenses of our three countries offers considerable advantages to all." It would "represent a strength far in excess of the arithmetical sum of the defenses of the three countries."

But is an agreement on common defense possible when, as Lange candidly added, "no common Nordic line on essential foreign-policy questions exists"? From the Swedish point of view a Northern pact must be based on acceptance by all three nations of the principles of neutrality and non-participation in other combinations of powers. Norway at any rate is not prepared to tie its hands to this extent. While it is not at present ready to join the Brussels group—if, indeed, it has been formally invited to do so—it wants to hold open the door to the

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west, particularly since the Vandenberg resolution indicates that something more than moral support for a Western European union may be forthcoming from the United States.

As a result an impasse has been reached, and although the three countries are continuing to "explore" the feasibility of a defense agreement, nobody seems to expect rapid progress in the negotiations. Almost certainly nothing definite will be achieved until after the general election in Sweden in September. Meanwhile the sense of urgency that prevailed earlier in the year has been partially dissipated. Immediately after the Czech coup the Scandinavian countries were very much afraid that they would shortly be confronted with Russian demands, and in the case of Norway there were many rumors that Moscow was going to insist on a bilateral revision of the international agreement which governs the status of the Norwegian archipelago of Spitzbergen. However, in this quarter, at least, the Soviet government seems to have been anxious to reduce the temperature. It proved unexpectedly accommodating in regard to the Finnish treaty, and it has since voluntarily reduced Fnnish reparations. It has not raised the Spitzbergen question, and I am assured on good authority that there is no foundation for the sensational reports in some American papers to the effect that the Russian coal concession in those islands is being used as camouflage for building a military base.

All this suggests that Scandinavia is in no immediate danger of Russian aggression but is not necessarily an indication of long-range Soviet policy. Obviously, it is to Moscow's interest to head off any Scandinavian move toward the West and to encourage Northern neutrality. But would it respect that neutrality in time of war? Few Scandinavians I have talked to, whatever international policy they favor, are very easy in their minds on that score.

Memoirs of Eduard Benes

V. WASHINGTON'S WAR-TIME ATTITUDES

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT was a sincere democrat and a far-seeing, practical politician. I had known him quite well since the Wilson Administration and the First World War. In the Presidency he had surrounded himself with aides who recognized that the German greed for domination and new territory threatened the civilized world. The Nazi teachings were repugnant to him, and he became a consistent opponent of all fascism at a time when the European democracies were pursuing a policy of appeasement. The United States must thank the tireless efforts of Roosevelt and his political skill for the fact that it was morally and materially prepared to enter the war.

The sympathies of the American people were undoubtedly always on our side. During the crisis in the fall of 1938 Americans were extraordinarily excited by Hitler's arrogance, by the European powers' abandonment of Czechoslovakia, and by the Munich accord. When I came to the United States in February, 1939, I found the public much better informed than people in France and England, where information had been very purposefully colored by the architects of appeasement. Official Washington circles, however, were seriously divided. President Roosevelt and a number of other men in the government were definitely opposed to the Munich policy, but there were some who were basically in accord with it and even had had some share in it.

The ambassador to Great Britain, Joseph Kennedy, openly and consistently defended Chamberlain's course, and Chamberlain more than once leaned on his support. The American ambassador in Berlin, Hugh Wilson, believed firmly in August, 1938, that an orientation of German policy toward peace was not impossible. He talked with the American and British ministers in Prague, had a long conference with Lord Runciman, and finally, on August 6, 1938, visited me. I was surprised by his naive faith in Berlin's peaceful intentions. He said to me in so many words that Göring did not desire war and was clearly working for peace. Hugh Wilson was sincere in this belief. He had been sympathetic with us since the First World War, and he did not want to injure us, but he was inaccurately advised. He was obviously sending Washington information of the same kind. And as he himself emphasized in 1939 at a meeting of bankers and economists in Chicago, the chief interest of America at that time was that there should be no war in Europe.

The American ambassador to France, William C. Bullitt, did not express himself so openly as Kennedy, but his attitude toward us during the September, 1938,

In the sixth and last instalment of his abridged Memoirs Dr. Benes discusses the treaty he signed with the Soviet Union in 1943 and answers the question of where Czechoslovakia stands—with the West or the East?—by a categorical "with both." In the light of recent events this chapter has ironic implications. It will appear next week.

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crisis was wholly negative. Daladier indicated clearly that his Munich policy was in accord with the views of the American ambassador and thus of the United States. Bullitt himself let it be known—mildly excusing himself at the same time—that he considered Prague too harsh toward the German minority, President Benes an irreconcilable anti-German chauvinist, and Benes's policy a threat to European peace. His attitude in this period and later was dictated chiefly by his personal opposition to the Soviet Union, which dated back to his stay in Moscow. His basic anti-Sovietism showed up again in a decisive fashion when together with Daladier and Bonnet he planned and carried out the expulsion of the Soviet Union from the League of Nations for making war on Finland. It was then, according to reports, that he sent his famous telegram to Washington saying he had at last received full satisfaction—that is, for what he had experienced in Moscow as ambassador. Until the fall of France he continued this policy in Paris and later, it appears, even in America. He also supported, to some extent, the Pétain regime as against De Gaulle.

At Christmas time, 1942, our Washington minister, Vladimir Hurban, came to London to inform himself on our situation in England. He also brought me an invitation from President Roosevelt to visit the United States. Our London government immediately decided that I should make the trip.

I WAS thus in America at the time of Germany's worst reverses on the eastern front, when its propaganda was insanely attacking the Soviets and trying to create a break between Russia and the United States. The German divisive campaign actually accomplished just the opposite, for it brought on official talks between the United States and the Soviet Union and also a great deal of public discussion in which I myself took part. I thus earned from German and Hungarian propagandists the title of Bolshevik agent and tool of Stalin. But I was well satisfied with the outcome of this important international discussion. It made it clearer and clearer to America that the war could be won only by close and loyal cooperation among the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union.

Subject to negotiation at this time were the question of France—the Pétain regime, the status of De Gaulle—the Allied attitude toward Italy, the claims of Poland, and relations between the West and the Soviet Union.

After a ceremonial dinner at the White House on May 12, 1943, which was attended by most of the Cabinet, a number of Representatives and Senators, and some of Roosevelt's military advisers, we went into the President's study and remained there till 2 a.m. engaged in a lively and frank discussion. We began with France. Roosevelt described the reasons for his reserve toward De Gaulle, analyzed the situation in France, Algiers, and Morocco as he had seen it during the Casablanca conference with Winston Churchill, and expressed rather pessimistic views on the future development of France and its empire. He expected its convalescence to be very slow, and in his remarks I clearly sensed a certain personal disappointment about France in general.

I tried to defend France and show how necessary it was for all of us, without regard to his and Churchill's quarrels with De Gaulle, to help France, set it on its feet, and integrate it into the ranks of the Allies. "In the interest of Europe and the rest of the world, and especially in connection with the future position of Germany," I said, "it is absolutely necessary that there should be on the European continent, besides the Soviet Union, one other strong democratic power—France."

The President criticized the French colonial regime as he had seen it in North Africa and doubted that postwar France would be able to retain all its colonies.

Then we came to Poland and the Soviet Union. This was at the time when the quarrel between the two was reaching its climax. Millions of American Poles were passionately interested, and their influence on the coming Presidential election in America could not be discounted. From Roosevelt's remarks and even more from Harry Hopkins's I saw that the United States had already made a decision. In principle it accepted the Soviet stand on changes in Poland's former Eastern frontier and agreed that an accord must be reached between Poland and the Soviet Union. I was convinced that the London Poles' expectation of receiving support from the United States for their claims against the Soviet Union was sheer wishful thinking. (Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles expressed this view to me the next day.)

On the same occasion I took up the question of our own relations with the Soviet Union. In preparing myself in London for the trip to Washington I had informed Moscow through Ambassador Bogomolov that I thought I should have some idea of the fundamental views of the Soviet Union concerning Germany, France, Poland, and ourselves. I had given Bogomolov a number of questions and received specific replies. I had even already negotiated with Bogomolov the basic principles of our proposed treaty of alliance. I thus came to Washington with a very clear conception of our relations with Russia.

I told President Roosevelt very frankly that we could not risk a second Munich, and therefore must have a treaty with the Soviet Union. I said that it was clear to me that we would be neighbors of Russia, and that this would influence our domestic policy and social and economic developments within our country. I said that after my return from America I intended to visit Moscow and come to a definite accord with the Soviet Union. And I believed that Poland should adopt the same policy.

After a long discussion Roosevelt said he perfectly

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understood my position and policy. Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt's intimate political adviser, and Sumner Welles expressed similar views.

While I was still in Washington, I received word from Bogomolov in London of the Soviet Union's affirmative attitude toward the transfer of our Germans after the war. I explained to Roosevelt how we and the Soviet Union regarded the transfer of our Germans. Roosevelt replied that Munich was such a lesson for the whole world that the question of our Germans must be carefully studied. I was confident, therefore, that when the transfer question should be discussed, the United States would support our views; and that is what it did at Potsdam.

The Feminist Crusade

BY RAMONA BARTH

IN JULY, 1848, the same year in which Karl Marx issued his Communist Manifesto, a group of determined American women gathered at Seneca Falls, New York, to issue what Mary R. Beard has called "a startling manifesto of woman's rights." Elizabeth Cady Stanton instigated the Seneca meeting; and her Declaration of Sentiments has had in some ways as profound an influence on human thought and behavior as Jefferson's demand for political freedom in the Declaration of Independence or Marx's insistence on economic liberty in the Communist Manifesto. Elizabeth Cady Stanton maintained that both ideas were fine but that their application should not be limited to the male half of the human race.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton

The first woman's-rights convention was conceived at the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840. There the veteran crusader, Lucretia Mott, met Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who was twenty-two years her junior. Mrs. Stanton had already proved herself a rebel by forsaking orthodox religion, by attending woman's-rights lectures, and by flouting the wishes of her father by marrying the fiery young Abolitionist, Henry Stanton. Elizabeth, a gay young bride on her honeymoon, was highly receptive to the ideas of Lucretia Mott. The friendship of the two women was sealed when, after a heated debate, British officialdom excluded them and the other American women as official delegates from the convention—because they were women. Even William Lloyd Garrison, the giant of the convention, could not alter the decision; he could only protest by taking his place in the balcony with the women. Then Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth put their heads together and decided to stage a convention of their own when they returned to America—not to free the black man but all women.

It was eight years before they carried out their resolution. Lucretia was meanwhile absorbed in anti-slavery work and Elizabeth all but immersed in the problems of domesticity and a growing family. In 1848 the dynamic pair met again and this time set a definite time and place for the convention. Mrs. Stanton drafted an unsigned invitation to the public. It announced a conference "to discuss . . . the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of women," and was published in the Seneca County *Courier*.

During the next few weeks Elizabeth worked evenings on the details of the meeting. Her lawyer husband helped and supported her until she submitted for his approval Resolution No. 9: "Resolved: that it is the duty of the women of this country to secure for themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise."

This was too much for Henry, and after a heated debate he issued an ultimatum of his own. Unless Elizabeth took out Resolution No. 9, he would leave town and attend none of the meetings. Even Lucretia Mott lost patience with her youthful partner, exclaiming in despair, "Oh, Lizzie, if thou demands that, thou will make us ridiculous. We must go slowly." But "Lizzie" refused to compromise and kept Resolution No. 9 on the agenda.

The convention, though it was off to a bad start in the minds of the inner circle, began as scheduled. On July 19, 1848, curious men and women drove up in their carriages to the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls. Accord-

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Drawings by Golden

ing to schedule the first day's sessions were for women only, but the men were allowed to stay.

At eleven o'clock James Mott, Lucretia's husband, tall and dignified in his Quaker dress, took the chair as presiding officer, a position no woman a century ago dared take in a mixed gathering. Lucretia spoke next, and she urged the women, despite the tradition against their speaking in public, to express themselves freely. It was now Elizabeth's turn. With assurance and conviction she presented a Declaration of Sentiments and a Declaration of Principles. Eighteen legal grievances of women, corresponding with the eighteen listed by the signers of the Declaration of Independence, were carefully enumerated. Women were deprived of the ballot, of property rights, of the right to their persons, of rights over their children. Married women were civilly dead, and single women who owned property were taxed without representation. Educational opportunities were denied women. So ran the list. Elizabeth pleaded with her hearers for a serious consideration of these injustices, and she was happy when they responded, not with banter, as many of them had planned to do, but with serious discussion.

On July 20, the second day of the convention, the Declaration of Sentiments was considered. One by one, the first eight resolutions were presented, discussed, and adopted. But as Henry and Lucretia had predicted, when Resolution No. 9 was presented, there was a long and heated debate. Yet when the resolution was put to a vote, it was carried. The majority was small, but the first formal demand for woman suffrage in America had been made.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON'S Resolution No. 9 set the tone of the woman's-rights movement in both America and England. "Hen" conventions, as they were sarcastically called, were held everywhere, and the slogan "Votes for Women" rang from hall and housetop. Newspaper headlines screamed about "the reign of petticoats" and "insurrection among women." Clergymen searched the Bible for passages with which to stop the women. Susan B. Anthony left her schoolteacher's desk, dropped her temperance work and her petitions for the Anti-Slavery Society, and began her life-long crusade for women. Lucy Stone, staging the first national woman's-rights meeting at Worcester in 1850, proved that she could run as good a show as Lizzie Stanton. Mrs. Taylor, later Mrs. John Stuart Mill, inspired by Lucy's meeting, wrote the first feminist statement in England and later collaborated with her husband on his famous essay on the Subjection of Women.

The Seneca Falls convention was the beginning of the seventy-two-year battle to obtain the vote for women which ended only in 1920 with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment: "The rights of citizens of the United States shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

The feminist movement in America was not only bellicose: it was also narrow in its aims. The emphasis was laid mainly on the right to vote—in demanding the vote Elizabeth Cady Stanton struck a spectacular note which Susan B. Anthony picked up and never let go.

It is interesting to speculate on the course American feminism might have taken if Margaret Fuller had accepted Pauline Wright Davis's invitation to appear as presiding officer on the platform of the Worcester convention in 1850. Margaret Fuller's broad philosophical stand on woman's rights as shown in the first written statement of feminism in the New World, Woman in the Nineteenth Century, published eight years before the Seneca Falls convention, had little influence on Susan B. Anthony or Elizabeth Stanton. Margaret would have considered Susan's compulsive crusade to win the vote smug and narrow. If, then, she had staged her own variety of feminine revolt, the results might have been far-reaching. If, likewise, the outstanding American men of the period had given more time and thought to the women's movement, its course might have been less limited. To be sure, Emerson, Channing, Samuel Gridley Howe appeared in behalf of women's rights, but the evidence indicates that most of them actually resented and despised strong-minded, aggressive women.

So, as it happened, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton had it all their own way. They broke with Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe, and the more conservative workers and created a militant women's movement based on the dogma of women's complete historical subjection to men, a dogma which Mrs. Beard described in her "Women as Force in History" as "one of the most fantastic myths ever created by the human mind." Liking nothing better than a good fight, they showed their long-suffering sisters how to win freedom from the tyrannical male by signing petitions and storming state legislatures; belligerence rather than logic motivated their movement.

The thesis of woman's subjection to man has left its imprint on the women's movement of today. The National Woman's Party hopes to solve all women's problems through the equal-rights amendment. Gladys Dickason of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, in an address commemorating the Seneca Falls Convention at

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the Woman's Bureau Conference in February of this year, said: "American women have come a long way since that historic meeting in Seneca Falls a hundred years ago. They have won political equality and extended their legal rights; they now enjoy most of the educational advantages formerly restricted to men; and the steadily increasing number of working women has gained some measure of economic security."

But before concluding with Miss Dickason that these obvious "gains" must be maintained and extended, it is well to note the argument of another speaker at the same conference, who contended that modern woman's needs are largely psychic, a claim substantiated by Amram Scheinfeld in "Women and Men," Helene Deutsch in "The Psychology of Women," and Lundberg and Farnham in "Modern Woman—the Lost Sex."

The centennial of the first woman's-rights convention is a time, then, not only for commemoration but for revaluation of the lives of the "founding mothers" in the light of modern psychiatric knowledge. It is well to consider the hitherto unanalyzed weaknesses as well as the obvious strengths of the movement which was begun at Seneca Falls; it is healthy to unveil not only marble statues to their memory but the inner motives of the first feminists. A clear, unprejudiced evalution of the first women's convention and the century of commotion it called forth should be helpful in the redefinition of feminism so much needed today.

Power Politics and the Navajo

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, June 29

SINCE the Navajos were returned from Fort Sumner to their present reservation in Arizona and New Mexico in 1867, they have often had reason to be bewildered by the antics of their guardians, the American people, but probably nothing in their entire experience has seemed quite so confusing as their involvement in the current complex of world politics.

The first of the bizarre series of events leading up to this result was the publication of some disinterested and thoughtful articles in the Denver *Post* on the tragic plight of the Navajos. The great debate on the Marshall Plan was getting under way, and the isolationist press was looking for an issue which might be used to divert attention from distress in Europe to distress in America. Overnight the "Navajo crisis" was discovered, dusted off, and given a typical Hearst treatment in the Los Angeles *Examiner* and other newspapers. The idea was, of course, that we should do something for the Navajos before we undertook to reconstruct Europe.

The Department of the Interior soon realized that here was its opportunity to put over a "Little Marshall Plan" for the relief of its charges, and it prepared and submitted to Congress a $90,000,000 rehabilitation program. At this point the Soviets intervened by giving prominence in their press to the new evidence of Yankee imperialism and oppression of a minority people provided by the Hearst papers. Excerpts from the Soviets' propaganda were placed in the *Congressional Record,* and Congressmen who had never before shown any interest in the Navajos eloquently declaimed that "something must be done" for them as part of America's crusade against communism.

The non-Hearst press on the West Coast, annoyed by the way in which Mr. Hearst was exploiting a worthy cause, decided that his efforts would have to be spiked before Congress, in a frenzy of anti-Communist philanthropy, actually appropriated the sum requested by the Administration. Accordingly the Los Angeles *Times* dispatched a staff representative and a photographer to the Navajo country to do a hatchet job on the campaign so artfully worked up by the Hearst press. Reading the signs of the times correctly, this staff representative concluded that if Soviet propaganda could be used perversely to stimulate an interest in the Navajo, it ought to be possible to discover a plot to Sovietize the Navajo in the program submitted by the Department of the Interior; and as might have been anticipated, he found the "plot."

It seems that one Max Drefkoff, a consultant for the department, had induced the tribal council of the Navajos to adopt a resolution asking that the 106 "traders" on the Navajo reservation be made to pay a gross tax of 1 per cent on all sales up to $40,000 and of 3 per cent on all sales above $40,000, that price ceilings be imposed, and that the traders be compelled to keep books on their credit transactions with the Indians. The plan also contemplated the substitution of cooperatives owned and managed by the Indians for the trading-posts which for so many years have had a death grip on the Navajo's vanishing economy. Now Max Drefkoff, as it happened, was Russian-born, a circumstance which made it much easier to enlist the public's interest in his "plot" against the traders.

The Los Angeles *Times* did its part by giving great prominence to a series of articles with such headlines as "Navajo Sovietization Plan Would Wipe Out Traders on Reservation" and "Navajo Destiny Hinges on Decision of Tribal Council on Soviet System." There is, of

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course, a delightful irony in these headlines, which by inference put Mr. Hearst in the role of a collaborator with the Soviets and an advocate of "collectivism."

The counter-plot to kill the Navajo relief program has now become a crusade to save "free enterprise" in which the traders have joined with great gusto. The irony in the situation is intensified by the fact that the Los Angeles *Times* has always been an advocate of the sales tax in California. The reservation traders, operating in areas immune from state legislation, have for years enjoyed a heavenly dispensation from almost all forms of taxation. Looked at dispassionately, therefore, the scheme proposed by Mr. Drefkoff to compel the traders to pay something for the privileges they have so long enjoyed seems basically unobjectionable. Since "communism" has now been invoked by both sides in the fight, the Department of the Interior has recalled Mr. Drefkoff to Washington and secured his resignation. This has of course been cited by the *Times* as "proof" of a sinister attempt to unseat private enterprise in the Navajo country.

While relying largely on the "Soviet" angle to defeat the proposal of the Department of the Interior, the *Times* has also played down the "Navajo crisis." Its articles have pictured the Navajos as the happiest of people, leading an idyllic life on their fantastically beautiful reservation. "Spring Urge Finds Navajos Content" is the headline on one of these gladsome pieces.

ONE might take a sardonic satisfaction in this strange contest between rival newspapers, with its overtones of world politics, were it not for the fact that a real "crisis" does exist in Navajo land. The socio-economic aspect of the crisis was pointed up in a recent publication of the Indian Service—"The People, a Study of the Navajos," by Dr. George I. Sanchez of the University of Texas. There were only 8,000 Navajos when the tribe was settled on the reservation in 1867; today there are 60,000. Although the reservation has been enlarged from 3,500,000 to 16,750,000 acres—an area larger than Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut, and Rhode Island together—which means there are two and one-half square miles per family, or three hundred acres per person, the terrain is such that the inhabitants actually suffer from overcrowding. Overgrazing of the range since an early date has sharpened the problem of subsistence for a people primarily dependent on sheep-raising. It takes 30 acres of land on the reservation to support one sheep, 150 acres for a horse, 120 for a cow, and the amount of irrigable land is negligible. In consequence Dr. Sanchez estimates that the reservation cannot support more than 35,000 Navajos. Of the 22,000 children of school age on the reservation today, fewer than 6,000 are in school. The tuberculosis death rate is 380 per hundred thousand among the Navajos and only 40 for the rest of the nation. It is estimated that there are at present 2,000 active cases of tuberculosis on the reservation, receiving utterly inadequate hospital and medical care. Obviously the crisis is real enough.

And along with this real socio-economic crisis the Navajos are going through an even more serious psychological and cultural crisis. They are the largest Indian tribe in the United States today, with a population growth that is now 2 per cent each year. Their Athapascan language, according to John Collier, is the only effective language of 95 per cent of the tribe. For these and other reasons experts have long recognized that they present the thorniest problem of acculturation of all the Indian tribes. On December 31, 1947, Secretary Krug received the Final Report on the Indian Personality and Administration, a 60,000-word document representing the results of investigations by "teams" of anthropologists, educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, and administrators whom Mr. Collier had assigned to the problem while he was Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The report points out that a too hastily conceived rehabilitation of the Navajo economy could aggravate the psychological and cultural crisis, that a sense of haste has consistently blinded the Indian Service to the deeper aspects of the problem, and that any scheme of rehabilitation must be based upon the natural sociological groupings found among the Navajos. This thoughtful, searching document shows there is a real danger that a "Little Marshall Plan," however generous its intention, if hastily imposed in the current excitement about the Navajo, might only make the situation worse.

To the Denver *Post* must go credit for having brought the two aspects of the Navajo crisis to the attention of the public, free of any demagogic "angles" or implications, and for having emphasized for the first time a basic fact about the Navajo. This fact is simply that the "Navajos are people"—Westerners whose welfare should be a basic consideration in any attempt to develop the physical and human resources of the West. Economic conditions in an area of 16,750,000 acres can hardly be regarded as peripheral to the West's main economic concerns. The Navajo reservation, for example, covers 14 per cent of the watershed of Lake Mead, impounded by Boulder Dam; it contributes only 2½ per cent of the lake's water but more than 20 per cent of the silt—an item which, one might think, would be of special interest to Southern California institutions now screaming about the possibility of a water famine. It is high time therefore for the Navajo problem to be taken out of the context of newspaper rivalry and world politics and for its solution to be seen as vital to the economy and well-being of the entire inter-mountain West. It is high time, also, as the Denver *Post* has pointed out, for the people of the West to learn to think of the Navajos, not as picturesque semi-savages, but as an integral part of the population.

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Del Vayo—Attlee's Best Bet

ON THE question of how the next election campaign shall be conducted British Labor divides into two groups. In one are those leaders who seemed almost frightened by their victory in 1945 and have acted since as if they sought an excuse for being in power. Instead of striking blow after blow, as incessantly as a pile-driver, at the bankrupt policy followed by the Tories for ten years, these men have often sounded as if they favored a policy of national union. They seem to have forgotten that in the Conservative Party they face opponents so set in the tradition of centuries and so ferociously determined, under their good manners, to defend their social privileges that they would take advantage of the first sign of faltering on Labor's part to hurl themselves on it and tear it to pieces. Instead of denouncing the cynicism of a party which after leading the country through depression and appeasement pretended that it possessed a panacea for England's ills in a return to private enterprise and unlimited capitalism, many Labor leaders, like the German Social Democrats in the early years of the Weimar Republic, seem paralyzed by a sense of inferiority to the old ruling classes.

I am always aghast when I see a Socialist government which cannot find the tone of dignity and strength befitting men called to direct the nation. I recall, for example, the scene between the Social Democratic President Ebert and the commander of the Reichswehr, the cold, suave, and self-possessed von Seekt, on the day of the Ludendorff-Hitler revolt in Munich. Ebert said, "General, can the government count on the Reichswehr?" Von Seekt, not adoptng the intimate tone which the President of Germany seemed to invite, answered drily, "Mr. President, the Reichswehr is behind me." If Ebert had then and there squelched von Seekt for his insolence, the renewed domination of the country by the army might have been prevented.

The other group of Labor leaders and, I am sure, most of the rank and file make no apologies for being in control of the government of England and will enter the election not humbly, as if facing defeat, but valiantly, with a program even more firmly Socialist than the slogan which served as a platform in 1945—"Let us face the future."

When the British people go to the polls, the situation in Europe—with reaction emboldened by the support of the Vatican and the benefits bestowed by E. R. P.—will be an ideal lever for returning to power the elements that were in the saddle before 1939. Labor's only chance to win lies in arousing the enthusiasm of the British workers for a concrete act which will be striking proof that Attlee and his team are determined to make a new advance on the road to socialism. Nothing but the nationalization of steel will serve.

Only a few weeks ago A. V. Alexander stated categorically that a measure to nationalize the steel industry would be introduced during the life of this Parliament, and at once the controversy between the defenders and the opponents of socialization raged again in the press and in the pubs. The reason that the more aggressive section of the Labor Party attaches such great importance to this step is not the need to increase production. In the matter of production steel has done better than any other big industry in Britain; output has risen sharply in the past eight months and now exceeds pre-war figures. From this point of view steel is quite a different case from coal, and different arguments must be used in the campaign for its nationalization.

The only way Labor can obtain the votes which will make it the next government of England is for it to say frankly that it wants to nationalize steel in order to drive big business from the essential positions of power, that it has resolved to take a decisive step toward changing the social structure of the country. If the state becomes the producer of steel and coal, the fate reserved for lesser industries will not matter; even if a majority of them remain in private hands, England can rightly be said to be on the road to socialism. Without steel the program of socialization carried out by British Labor and even the government's radical social-security program announced last week will fail to provide the necessary impetus.

When Hugh Dalton was brought back into the Cabinet as a concession to Labor's left wing, he admitted that Prime Minister Attlee might ask him to study the possibility of extending socialism to an industry like steel. This would indicate that the Prime Minister has begun to realize that men like Dalton and Aneurin Bevan may bring in more votes than Mr. Bevin and other right-wing leaders.

In 1945, immediately after the war, British Labor could hope that presenting itself as a national rather than as a working-class party would enable it to take advantage of the strong tendency in England to make socialization a fashionable creed. Everybody then was in favor of it—the bishops, the ladies who gave tone to the select boarding-houses around Hyde Park and in Bayswater, even Marshal Montgomery. In 1950, if that is the year of the next elections, Labor cannot hope to be kept in power by a heterogeneous electorate; the militant, informed, and determined workers must be marshaled behind it.

For Paul Hoffman, E. R. P. administrator, the socialization of steel is assuredly not a very agreeable prospect. He was quoted by the New York *Times* of May 14 as saying to Senator Dworshak of Idaho that if the British recovery program should call for dollars for modernizing, say, the steel industry, the question would arise whether socialization would make for recovery. "My guess," he said, "is that it would not." But Mr. Attlee would certainly agree with me that while the policy summed up in Mr. Hoffman's comment helped Signor de Gasperi to victory in the last Italian elections, it could not so easily return Mr. Attlee to Downing Street. In no case, however, would Labor be Mr. Hoffman's choice, unless it should cease to be Labor.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Jew in America

"THE FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN JEW." By Mordecai M. Kaplan. The Macmillan Company. $6.

IN AT least one clear sense the establishment of the Jewish state simplifies the entire Jewish problem. Politically, it divides Jews into those who live or will settle in Palestine as citizens of Israel and those who, choosing to remain in other countries, will give them undivided political allegiance.

Subtler problems persist, however, which are not resolved by the new state. What are the Jews outside of Palestine —race, people, religious communion? If they are a church, why are the non-religious among them also considered Jews? And if they are not religious, what is the purpose of their going on as Jews? Is a two-day-a-year Judaism or a one-day-a-week Judaism worth while? If not, if Judaism in America is to be what it was for European Jewry, an all-embracing way of life, how can it be integrated with modern American civilization?

These questions have been evoked by the emancipation of the Jews in the past hundred and fifty years. Prior to the nineteenth century Judaism was either the indigenous civilization of the Hebrews in their own land or the separatist religion of a segregated group in Europe. Once the ghetto walls were breached, however, the Jews were confronted with all the problems of the modern world and special ones of their own. These produced a variety of answers.

Heinrich Heine accepted conversion but on his deathbed admitted that he was still a poor, sick Jew.

Karl Marx condemned all religions as opiates and wanted Judaism liquidated with the rest. His whole life was twisted by his desire to escape from his Jewishness. Nevertheless, his prophetic drives and the enemies of his ideas have forever stamped him as a Jew.

The early reformers sought to make Jews simply communicants of the Mosaic faith. They were thwarted by the facts of life. Today the reform Jews, except for an impotent handful, are immersed in the main stream of Jewish life and problems. Louis D. Brandeis offered Zionism as a foundation for Judaism. Nevertheless, he did not join a synagogue or worship with his brethren.

In the United States particularly the problem of achieving a meaningful pattern for Jewish life has taken its sharpest form. For here freedom has evoked the broadest heterogeneity in Jewish history. And yet it is precisely in this democracy that the Jew has his greatest opportunity to create a purposeful existence, to fashion a creative synthesis of his own heritage with a progressive Western civilization.

Many have sought such a synthesis —none with complete success, certainly none with more forthrightness than Mordecai M. Kaplan. For forty years, as teacher of rabbis and teachers, as organizer of the Synagogue Center development, as founder of the reconstructionist movement, he has courageously tested and adapted the Jewish heritage. He has persistently striven to eliminate the obsolete, while retaining and strengthening the best. His views appear in many articles and books. Now, in "The Future of the American Jew," he gives us the distillation of a lifetime of experience and thought. It is a serious book which requires serious reading. But the rewards it offers are rich.

Dr. Kaplan's basic thesis is that Jews should establish a distinct religious civilization in the United States. Broadly conceived, this should go beyond religion. It should include the upbuilding of Israel, the democratization of Jewish communal life, the support of Jewish creative activity in the arts, and the full participation of Jews as Jews in progressive social movements.

There will be, and are, objections to Dr. Kaplan's program. On the religious side it is opposed by the traditionalists. They reject his premise that religion is an expression of community life rather than of revealed divine origin. They point to the failure of humanistic religion to perpetuate itself. Certainly it has been true in Jewish experience that religion runs thin among the rationalists. Before long they or their children tend to lose interest altogether. Judaism has been preserved by those who accept the heritage on faith. Nevertheless, the modern mind cannot afford to overlook the challenge of Dr. Kaplan's probing honesty. His answers may not be definitive or altogether satisfying, but they must receive serious consideration.

The objections to the broader aspects of Dr. Kaplan's program will come from those who fear it promotes segregation. Actually it gives formal expression and philosophic meaning to existing realities. The intense concern over European Jewry and Jewish Palestine, the solidifying of Jewish communities into welfare funds, federations, and community councils, the expansion of community centers, the growing emphasis on Jewish education, the development of parochial schools, the return of reform Judaism to tradition, and the modernization of orthodoxy suggest the pattern of the emerging Jewish civilization in the United States.

Will this be good for Jews, and for America? No simple answer can be given. Certainly it will expose Jews to attacks by anti-Semites. Also it seems to provide some justification for the regrettable but understandable tendency of Jews in our time to withdraw into themselves. But the idea of America is big enough for differences. A spiritually conscious Jew, deeply rooted in his own heritage, is likely to make a much more significant contribution to the evolving American civilization than a scared, ignorant, rootless Jew whose Judaism, as Dr. Kaplan states, "is reduced merely to an awareness of anti-Semitism."

Whether Jews will ever feel completely at home outside of Palestine, whether they will ever free themselves from the *Galut* (exile) psychology, as Kaplan desires, is not foreseeable now. However, his program will help them to face the uncertain future with dignity and self-respect.

PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN

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Kant on Peace

INEVITABLE PEACE. By Carl Joachim Friedrich. Harvard University Press. $4.75.

TWO years ago a German publisher desiring to obtain a license from the American Military Government inevitably showed two ingratiating titles on his list—Heine's "Buch der Lieder" and Kant's "Eternal Peace," especially the latter. The famous treatise was then just 150 years old. It was Germany's greatest literary contribution to the cause of universal world order. Had it not been banned by Goebbels? Thus Germany was deluged with popular editions of Kant's essay, and there was no end of radio dramatizations, abridged versions, and the like. Immanuel Kant would have had some doubts about the authenticity of that hectic German postwar neo-Kantianism, for as Professor Friedrich points out time and again, the great moralist had no illusions about men as they really are.

It was an excellent idea to reedit Kant's treatise now, in this country, and to test the purity of its metal by confronting it with recent history. The United Nations Charter is ideologically rooted in the bourgeois heritage of the Christian world. Kant was a great builder and representative of that tradition. Political thought, and therefore politics itself, rests on philosophical premises, although politicians think they can afford to ignore them. The philosophical premises underlying the politics of the United Nations were established or perfected by Kant. Again, the little treatise "On Eternal Peace" is the end-product of a long intellectual process and struggle involving many names and nations. In revaluating Kant's thesis Professor Friedrich had to write the history as well as an analysis of the idea of eternal peace.

None of the authors with whom he deals considered eternal peace an inevitable outcome of history. Some of them, like Penn or Saint-Pierre made well-meant and practical proposals of which the realization had to be left to the powers that be. Others, like Marx, discerned two great alternatives—universal world order or universal destruction. Kant too knew these alternatives. The second, man's self-destruction in a hell of his own making, did not seem probable to him or make much sense to him; but, then, he was by no means dogmatically certain that man's history *must* make sense. As for the first alternative—universal world order, eternal peace—Kant's dualism offered him two different approaches. On the one hand, his study of nature and history had not at least furnished any proof that eternal peace is impossible. It even gave rise to the equally unproved speculation that great wars are so many unconscious attempts of "nature" to establish a universal and definite order among men. On the other hand, the thesis "There shall be no war" belonged to those moral imperatives which are valid in spite of all vulgar appeals to contrary experience. War is incompatible with the moral law commanding us never to use man merely as a means to an end. War prevents man from fulfilling his human task; and therefore everybody, here, today, must act as if war could be avoided. A historian who tells us that human nature does not change and that another general war is very likely may well be right, but we feel that his is a cheap and treacherous way of being right; and it is Kant who rationalizes this feeling. He presents us with the profoundest, soundest, and simplest argument against cynicism and preventive-war speculations; talking about the inevitability of another world war is unpractical in the highest, that is, the Kantian, sense of the word.

Professor Friedrich insists that Kant was not by accident a pacifist and a republican. His ideas about war and peace flow from the very heart of his philosophy; herein lies their superiority over all merely utilitarian pacifism. It is exactly because in Kant's thought everything is interrelated, because his actual draft of an "eternal" peace treaty and all its articles are deeply rooted in his philosophy of man, necessity, and freedom, that the student of the United Nations Charter has to go back to Kant rather than to Hume or Bentham. This is especially true of the American or English student, for the influence of Kant the politician has been much stronger in the English-speaking countries than in Germany. There was more of Kant in Gladstone or Woodrow Wilson than in Bismarck—another argument against the national or racial approach in the history of ideas.

Having been tentatively a Kantian for seven chapters, Professor Friedrich reconciles Kant and Karl Marx in the eighth. Kant is not enough. With his sympathy for the "common man" he transcends his own bourgeois basis and forms a "bridge to the workers' civilization into which we are moving"; but the focus of his thinking is legal and moral rather than economic, and his ideas about private property are those of John Locke. Here is where Marx comes in. The two thinkers, Marx and Kant, have much in common—for instance, their belief in the secret purposefulness of all political and social conflicts. Kant, however, stressed the moral and normative element; Marx the material, man's economic dependency. The two systems are complementary to each other and must be reconciled, while at this moment a misconstrued Kantianism (the American idea of "war to end war") is battling a misconstrued Marxism (the identification of international revolution with Russian national imperialism).

This last chapter is the most important and most fruitful part of the book, and will no doubt provoke much scholarly criticism. For Professor Friedrich did not and obviously could not point out all the differences between those two worlds, the Kantian and the Marxian. That the two men were different, that their times were different, that their practical teachings were most radically different, that what they have in common is due to their common eighteenth-century background rather than to any direct link between them as individuals, that it was the critical and speculative Kant rather than the positivistic and dogmatic Marx who separated himself from that background—all this is of course well known to Professor Friedrich. But we dare prophesy that it will be a fertile ground for those scholarly yet polemical footnotes in which he himself excels.

GOLO MANN

From Tramp to M. Verdoux

CHAPLIN: LAST OF THE CLOWNS. By Parker Tyler. The Vanguard Press. $3.

THERE was always something disquieting in the contrast between the innocent tramp and the scandal tabloids' Charles Spencer Chaplin. But as the evidence came in, it grew clearer that

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neither could exist without the other. Even behind the divorces, the alimony and paternity suits, we caught glimpses of the wistful Charlie. "The little chap I want to show," said Chaplin, "wears the air of romantic hunger, is forever seeking romance, but his feet won't let him." And, on the other side of the coin, how could we fail to see in the deadly Monsieur Verdoux the phoenix risen from the ashes of the Tramp?

The charm of Parker Tyler's book turns on the ingenious ways in which he relates the legendary clown to the near-legend of reality. Tyler has an impulse for bizarre associations that is sometimes pure caprice but more often the source of extremely fertile perceptions. Much as I admire the compact, self-confirming structure that he builds out of surrealist observation, inspired leaps of hypothesis, and perseverance in a single-tracked analysis, I cannot help feeling that the independent critical demands of Chaplin's film art are neglected in Tyler's constant return to the child and his Oedipal situation. But there can be no doubt that he has got hold of the still center of Chaplin's character and has revealed a good deal of the personal-symbolic reference of his art.

Chaplin's father died when he was five. This traumatic experience, in Tyler's argument, fixed him at the period of childhood and was largely responsible for the later character of the Tramp. Chaplin felt he had to take his father's place, economically and emotionally, with his mother, but was too weak and too little to do so. The Tramp is the product of the child's enforced imaginative leap into adulthood. Physically, with his oversize shoes, baggy pants, narrow shoulders, and perched, balloon-like hat, he is the adult as seen from the ground-level perspective of the child. Emotionally, the Tramp is an ineffectual child trying to make his way in the hostile world, as economic man, as lover, but weighed down (the symbolism of the shoes) by the child's imagined adult traits—his gentleness, his chivalry, his soiled fastidiousness.

On this image of the "little man" falls the shadow of the successful professional. Here is the split between the romantic dream world of Charlie the Tramp and the world of will and power which is the habitat of the wealthy, honored Charles Chaplin. It is also the split between work and play. The Tramp plays at working, his fundamental goal is to loaf; while Chaplin works at playing the Tramp, for pantomime has been, from childhood, a way to earn a living. But the ideal to which the Tramp aspires closely resembles the real Chaplin—urbane, rich, dapper, experienced in love-making. The real Chaplin, however, knows more and more how far he falls short of the narcissistic dream with which he has endowed the Tramp. Thus the dictator Adenoid Hynkel incorporates more of Chaplin's pantomimic art than the sober, dreamless barber; it is now Hynkel who dreams—an aggressive, tyrannical dream, to be sure, but one which has its source in the Chaplin who has deceived and enslaved the little chap. For, as "Monsieur Verdoux" most explicitly revealed, there were depths of violence in the creator that would have terrified his sweet-tempered creation.

This contradiction in the personality of the clown-artist recurs in his attitude toward sound in film. Tyler attributes the gradual breakdown of Chaplin's silence on the screen to the growth of a professional ego which required him to defend his moralism, and himself, in words. It is interesting to note, though, that Chaplin always had a hankering for the verbal: "I dreamed that I was the great romantic actor of the age—the ideal Romeo of the Photo-Shakespearean." Yet for many years after the advent of sound film he repressed this passion in favor of the purity if not the very existence of the Tramp. It was necessary, finally, to turn the Tramp into the shrewd, murderous bourgeois dandy, Monsieur Verdoux, before Chaplin could succumb entirely to the efficacy of sound, the desire to testify.

In dismissing Verdoux's "spotty choreography" and "smugly enunciated speeches" Tyler shows himself to have been caught in the neat circle of his own myth. He refuses to admit any change or revelation in Chaplin which does not conform to the earlier content of his films. Thus he takes the pronouncements of Verdoux too literally, without noting the cryptic wryness and the reversals in his talk. Although we may regard his lay politics as crude and misguided, in "Monsieur Verdoux" Chaplin surrounded his sense of the world with a complex irony that is refreshing both as cinema and as a species of disenchantment. The stances and the tripping dance-walk of Verdoux may be very different from the run, walk, and idiosyncratic flexes of the Tramp, but is it not remarkable how much they tell us of the earlier, now repressed nature of this suburban Bluebeard?

Tyler's lack of interest in film technique also allows him to bypass Chaplin's innovations in "Monsieur Verdoux"—paralyzing camera motion to give free play to an elusive facial pantomime, using absolute silence in the context of sound to envelop a scene with tension. But the mark of Tyler's success is that he impels us to revise, as well as to recall more tangibly than we are otherwise likely to do, the vision of Chaplin in his early films:

> . . . Charlie of the windy pants, the silent giggle, and the heart of candy . . . Charlie of the outturned toes, open to the blow of fate . . . Charlie of the shuffle, flirt, and skimmer . . . Charlie of the *jeune fille* waist, the feet of a dancer in the shoes of the earth . . . Charlie, sad as a vacationing angel . . . Charlie of the heavy date, the hot romance, the owl's stare . . . Charlie: credulous as a dog, suspicious as a cat . . . Charlie of the delicate behind, the straight neck of a prince or a prize-fighter . . . he of the monosyllabic silhouette . . . Charlie, Charlie the funny. . . . Where is he now? . . .

NATHAN GLICK

Public Opinion and Foreign Policy

THE MAN IN THE STREET. By Thomas A. Bailey. The Macmillan Company. $5.

ELIHU ROOT once observed that when foreign affairs were directed by despots the danger of war came from sinister purposes but that under democracies the peril lay in mistaken beliefs. This change, he believed, denoted progress: "for while there is no human way to prevent a king from having a bad heart, there is a human way to prevent a people from having an erroneous opinion." To eradicate such opinions and expose their sources one of the foremost historians of American diplomacy has written a wise, witty, and timely book that documents all too fully how popular apathy, ignorance, prejudice, and caprice can plague and frustrate the conduct of our foreign policy.

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Following the most fruitful trend in recent historiography, Professor Bailey of Stanford has eschewed intricate negotiations and concentrated upon the underlying domestic forces that mold our international action. Subtitled "The Impact of American Public Opinion on Foreign Policy," his volume considers the influence, past and present, of sectionalism, hyphenism, religion, and politics upon our dealings with other powers. Patriotic myths, traditional antipathies, economic aspirations, and antimilitarism are discussed, and a brief mention is given to pressure groups, propaganda agencies, the press, and the radio.

Space does not permit a résumé of all Professor Bailey's sage comments, shrewd insights, and useful demolitions of hoary myths. Sectionalism and national hyphenism he finds on the wane, but racial hyphenates, such as the Jews, are still a force to be reckoned with. The zeal for spreading democracy abroad that began with Clay and Webster has become less intense. In 1917 we wished to make the world safe for democracy; in 1941 we were content to make it safe. The Founding Fathers were not isolationists of the America First stripe, and the Farewell Address "is one of the least read, most incorrectly quoted, and mose widely misunderstood documents in American history." Walter Lippmann's eagerly accepted interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, both as to its origin and its alleged dependence on British sea power, is shown to be false.

Similarly the much-abused Washington treaties of 1921-22 are placed in their proper perspective. Leaders of the armed forces are absolved from the facile charge of demanding huge armaments in order to provoke conflicts. The fiction of "brave little Finland" and its imaginary war debt is exploded. The obvious need for a better understanding of foreign states and a more accurate knowledge of our own past is stressed. All Americans would do well to ponder this warning: "In the days of the atomic bomb we may have to move more rapidly than a lumbering public opinion will permit. Just as the yielding of some of our national sovereignty is the price that we must pay for effective international organization, so the yielding of some of our democratic control of foreign affairs is the price that we may have to pay for greater physical security."

It is ardently to be hoped that the elusive individual named on the title page will read this volume. Nowhere can he find a better statement of his own influence or a more authoritative, engaging, and up-to-date account of such cardinal diplomatic principles as Isolation, Manifest Destiny, and the Monroe Doctrine.

For the scholar there is nothing new except the approach and the digest of the various public-opinion polls from 1935 to 1947. Mr. Bailey's is "a pioneering enterprise . . . suggestive rather than exhaustive." To the question why we behave like Americans in regard to the outside world, he has replied with a series of provocative essays, not a closely argued analysis. There is no rigid definition of public opinion, no systematic examination of its direct influence upon policies. The book is sometimes repetitious, and occasionally the factual foundation is not sufficiently strong to support the soaring generalization based on it. Much further work remains to be done, but the author is to be thanked for marking some of the trails to be opened up. We can also be grateful that throughout the diverting and instructive journey he has not hesitated to scatter some hard, brutal truths. "Ignorance of our history," he writes, "is one of the bulwarks of the rabid isolationist," while "apathy is perhaps the greatest single barrier in a democracy to the conduct of an intelligent foreign policy."

RICHARD W. LEOPOLD

Society in Collapse

WORLD WITHOUT VISA. By Jean Malaquais. Translated by Peter Grant. Doubleday Company, $3.75.

JEAN MALAQUAIS, whose poignant "War Diary" was published in this country three years ago, has now produced one of the few significant novels to have reached us from Europe in recent years, and one which should be read by all those who are concerned with the facts of the wasteland that was once Europe.

The locale is Vichy France; the novel is a diagnosis of our contemporary world, for which Vichy France serves as a symbol.

All the human fauna suddenly brought to the surface by the collapse of French society swarm and crawl in these pages. The social bonds which had been brittle for a long time suddenly snapped. Conventions, *mores*, morality appear as ludicrous and incongruous survivals of another age—survivals which might still inspire nostalgic tenderness and amused condescension but certainly no awe. What was left were naked and rootless men eagerly rejecting all bonds with a tradition that had become meaningless and with a national community that had become farcical. The rabble cast up by a sick society now crawled into positions of power and assumed the paraphernalia of state authority—indeed, they were the state.

Police officials who deal in foreign currency and exit visas, members of the Marshal's élite troops who for the first time can act out sadistic impulses in public, meek victims crushed by the racketeer state, consciously struggling resisters, and foreign political refugees—all the inhabitants of the Vichy world people this book.

There are the villains and the victims; but there are also those who through deliberate action "foolishly" and "unrealistically" negate this "absurd" universe. The victims are dignified in their plight and inspire pity by their awkward and inappropriate attempts to behave according to old moral standards in a world in which such standards no longer apply. Helpless, gullible, they have lost their traditional moorings and cannot transcend the Vichy world. To transcend it, active opposition from a different vantage-point is required.

Malaquais does not try to depict the struggle between France and Nazi Germany, between the resistance and Vichy, between democracy and fascism; he leaves such superficial aspects to the Steinbecks and the various graduates from the OWI school of writing. His concern is with the historical opposition between a decaying European civilization and the as yet feeble and timid attempts to rebuild the world on different foundations. Malaquais is a radical writer in the true sense of the word—a writer who digs at the roots of things.

But this is not a "proletarian novel"; the characters are not simple "types";

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every one is a fully realized human being. General significance is reached through grounding men firmly in a specific time and locale, not by making them enact universally valid roles.

It is an exciting, brutal, and powerful book. I doubt whether the proponents of our modern genteel tradition will like it. Here is no fascinating probing of the self, no deploring of the alienation of modern man—here are people who must act, who cannot indulge in contemplation because they do not live off the cream of a still secure age but must struggle for their lives upon the lean body of a society that permits no security. Balzac often comes to mind; yet Malaquais's is a "Human Comedy" in a world which no longer allows the stability of bourgeois existence.

An explosion has shattered all orderly structures; what is left is a world shorn of its apparent legality and tranquil patterns. This subject matter is intentionally reflected in a style which, to the distress of some conservative reviewers, is remote from the orderly organization of the French *roman traditionnel;* the exuberant richness b u r s t s habitual frameworks, for a disjointed world cannot be captured by artistic means corresponding to a hierarchically ordered universe. Attention constantly shifts from one episode to another—the camera eye, constantly moving, nervously catches fragments of life in the Vichy bureaucracy, captures a few fleeting glimpses of the love story of a little Marseilles girl, and moves immediately to the Gestapo's slow chase and final trapping of an old revolutionary or to the arrest of a family of Jewish refugees.

The meaning of each episode is not immediately given in itself; only as the episodes are fitted together, through their mutual interpenetration and blending, does the import of the whole structure emerge. One is sometimes reminded of the vitality of those tropical plants that Malaquais saw during his long stay in Mexico, extending their branches and tentacles in all directions, entangling, knotty, illogical, yet somehow a perfect image of our world. Served by an extraordinarily faithful translation, no more important novel has reached us from France since Camus's "The Stranger." LOUIS CLAIR

Controversial Tax Policies

TROUBLE SPOTS IN TAXATION. By Harold M. Groves. Princeton University Press. $2.

LECTURES by a good economist, whose political bent is progressive, survey lucidly a number of the most controversial issues in taxation policy. Professor Groves is led into discussion of some fundamental questions, but he always comes out with practical judgments. Taxation may legitimately be used to remedy inequalities; it has not yet gone very far in that direction, but it may even now curb incentive. It may be employed for other public purposes; the author is for a "mixed economy" in which fiscal policy is used for stabilization. The tax on personal net income is on the whole the best kind of tax we have; we should rely more upon it and should improve it. Yet some diversification is desirable, especially in obtaining revenue for state and local units. GEORGE SOULE

Verse Chronicle

KARL SHAPIRO'S "Trial of a Poet" (Reynal and Hitchcock, $2) has been a disappointment to everybody. The first third of the book, a commonplace and derivative autobiographical series, is a sort of bobby-soxer's "Mauberly"; the long title-poem seems worse than "Essay on Rime"—one reviewer commented that it "barely makes sense"; and the separate lyrics, with several partial and one or two complete exceptions, are automatic—over the old machinery, the world and the poet look clearly past each other. One reads with familiar pleasure In the Waxworks, or lines like

Gnawing the thin slops of anxiety,
Escorted by the ground swell and by gulls,
In silence and with mystery we enter
The territorial waters.

But one also reads how the poet hated, in the army, "the vast/ And national ignorance of the dividing line/ Between the many and the few. He classed/ The majority of his fellow-men as swine." Did he? This may not be the Great Refusal, but it's as big a one as most men ever get a chance to make.

Mr. Shapiro was, to begin with, an attractive, extremely *young* poet, with a style half individual and half imitative, and with the faculty of doing his best work on a fairly easy and popular level; he has made fewer demands on himself with every poem, and has sunk and sunk until one wishes that he could go back to his best book, his first, and start over from there. He is a real poet, a confused and innocent one; although his poems do not have the penetration and finality of first-rate work, a few of them are fresh, clear, and individual successes. If he could distinguish between the manner of all his poems and the matter of the good ones, he might be able to get free of the rut he has ground himself down into; but this is particularly hard for a poet, largely and volubly uncritical, who has based so much of his practice on certain effects of Auden's.

Bertolt Brecht's poetry, even in translation—and some of his poems must be as hard to translate as, say, Kipling's Shilling a Day—is plainly the work of a good and unusual poet. Some of the dramatic force of the poems, some of the knowledge and sympathy of the poet, would translate into Esperanto. If I knew German I'd try to do Brecht justice; as it is, let me refer the reader to Hannah Arendt's excellent piece on him in a recent *Kenyon Review*. Through most of his "Selected Poems" (Reynal and Hitchcock, $3.50) one is touching real people and the real world—and in our time, generally, one gets to touch only a real poet. There was once a Senator Chandler who said about a book named "Onomoo, the Huron," "The man who doesn't like it isn't fit to live"; I feel the same way about anybody who isn't very much moved by Brecht's Concerning the Infanticide, Marie Farrar.

John Berryman ("The Dispossessed," William Sloan, $2.50) is a complicated, nervous, and intelligent writer whose poetry has steadily improved. At first he was possessed by a slavishly Yeatsish grandiloquence which at its best resulted in a sort of posed, planetary melodrama, and which at its worst resulted in monumental bathos like

Deep in the unfriendly city Delmore
lies
And cannot sleep, and cannot bring
his mind

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And cannot bring those marvelous faculties
To bear upon the day sunk down behind. . . .

A good critic, he had felt, understood, and remembered only too well the effects of half a dozen contemporary poets, and these effects kept cropping up in his own poems; but, without them, he could write as impersonal and nostalgic a poem as Winter Landscape.

By the time he wrote The Nervous Songs he had got together many of the elements of his own style—though things like "I am the king of the dead" certainly do have a familiar ring; and his latest poetry, in spite of its occasional echoes, is as determinedly individual as one could wish. Doing things in a style all its own sometimes seems the primary object of the poem, and its subject gets a rather spasmodic and fragmentary treatment. The style—conscious, dissonant, darting; allusive, always over- or under-satisfying the expectations which it is intelligently exploiting—seems to fit Mr. Berryman's knowledge and sensibility surprisingly well, and ought in the end to produce poetry better than the best of the poems he has so far written in it, which have raw or overdone lines side by side with imaginative and satisfying ones. Here are six lines taken almost at random from the last poem in the book:

Our arms, our story. Every seat was sold.
A crone met in a clearing sprouts a beard
And has a tirade. Not a word we heard.

Movement of stone within a woman's heart,
abrupt and dominant. They gesture how
Fings really are. Rarely a child sings now.

Compare these with that unforced tribute to a friend that I've already quoted. How things *have* changed! One looks forward with real curiosity and pleasure to Mr. Berryman's new poems, just as one looks back with real amusement and embarrassment to many of his old poems; but even there, among all those statues talking like a book, there were, sometimes, lines of an obscure magic:

Childhood speaks to me in an austere face,
The Chast Mayd only to the thriving Swan
Looks back and back with lecherous intent,
Being the one nail known, an excrement;
Middleton's grave in a forgotten place.

RANDALL JARRELL

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

KOUSSEVITZKY may still end his Tanglewood Festival with the bombastic concluding proclamations of Sibelius's Second Symphony, and Ormandy may use it for similar purposes on tour; but in WQXR's recent poll the work dropped to 23rd place from 12th in 1940, and there is other evidence that the Sibelius fever of ten years ago has died down here. But in England it is still raging; and it is astounding to open "The Music of Sibelius" edited by Gerald Abraham (Norton, $3) and read what nonsense is still being written with what solemnity over there in the process of discovering in the talents and achievements of a minor master gigantic powers and works that may be compared with Beethoven's—even by Mr. Abraham himself, who is quite the best English writer on music now, and whose accuracy enables him to see that the facts of the first movement of the Second Symphony are not as Cecil Gray described them to make them fit into a revolution in form which Mr. Abraham can see isn't there.

As it happens Columbia has issued a new recording of the work by Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra (Set 759, $7.25). The performance is a flamboyantly rhetorical one which some may consider just right for the work's own rhetorical excesses, while others may think these shouldn't be made still more excessive. As for its recorded sound, even on the RCA Victor Demonstration Model on which I am hearing records away from New York these days—a machine with a frequency-range limited by an amplifier which falls off rapidly at about 6,000 cycles—it is possible to hear the difference between the cold, lusterless, and occasionally muddy sound of this performance, and the warmth, luster, refinement, and clarity of the sound of the performance of Brahms's German Requiem recorded in Vienna (Set 755, $15.50).

This is a performance by the chorus of the Vienna Society of Friends of Music, the Vienna Philharmonic, Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, soprano, and Hans Hotter, baritone, under the direction of Herbert van Karajan. Chorus and orchestra are excellent; Schwarzkopf has an exquisite silvery voice which produces its highest notes with more ease and beauty than Steber; Hotter's fine voice hasn't the youthful freshness of Pease's, but he has the style of a matured artist that Pease has yet to achieve; and indeed what strikes one in this performance is its authority, the matured musical feeling of every participant—chorus, orchestra, soloists, conductor—that one hears in the richly detailed inflection of phrase. Nothing of this kind is to be heard in the Robert Shaw performance, which is just a smooth singing and playing of the notes. The musical life in the Vienna performance led me to think the choral fugues were being taken faster than in the Shaw performance; but someone whom I asked to check this point reported that there was no difference in tempo. In my copy of the set there is wavering pitch on sides 3, 9, and 14.

Another of RCA Victor's objectionable packaging jobs combines in one set (1210, $4.75) Smetana's lovely "Die Moldau" and an unfamiliar and not very good work of Dvorak, his "Husitska" Overture. They are well performed by the Boston "Pops" Orchestra under Fiedler; and the warmth and radiance of their recorded sound provides another contrast to the coldness of the Columbia Sibelius recording.

For the pleasure of hearing some of the amazingly beautiful and imaginative music of Haydn's "The Seasons" I am grateful to Robert Scholz, whose competence as a conductor enabled him to produce an effective performance with the Mozart Orchestra and the chorus of the Music School of the Henry Street Settlement, and Alice Lreau, soprano, Walter Blazer, tenor, and William Epperhart, baritone.

CONTRIBUTORS

PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN, rabbi of Temple B'rith Kodesh in Rochester, has recently returned from fifteen months' service as adviser on Jewish affairs to the United States army commanders in Europe.

GOLO MANN, author of "Secretary of Europe: The Life of Friedrich Gentz, Enemy of Napoleon," is on the staff of Claremont Men's College.

RICHARD W. LEOPOLD is assistant professor of history at Harvard.

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Letters to the Editors

Is France Right?

Dear Sirs: In his article France Is Right, in *The Nation* of June 26, Mr. del Vayo states the indisputable fact that it is fear not of Russia but of a remilitarized Germany which dominates French thinking. American money and anti-Russian propaganda, he thinks, will not "deliver Frenchmen from their obsession that Germany will some day strike again."

Mr. del Vayo is right, but is France right in desiring a policy of oppression which would be a strong factor in a resurgence of German nationalism, just as a similar policy was in the twenties? Not only "a change of spirit in the German people" is needed. Europe, and particularly Germany, needs a change of spirit in the *French* people, whose friends, including Mr. del Vayo, should ask the question: How many times have German countries been invaded and devastated by French armies, and what tales of French aggression and brutality have been told by many generations of Germans?

France will be right, and one pillar of peace will rise, when Frenchmen too weed out the "hereditary" hostility which has sprung from a poisonous nationalism, French as well as German. What Europe needs is friendship between Frenchmen and Germans.

KARL F. MUENZINGER

Boulder, Col., July 4

Real World Government

Dear Sirs: Kindly accept our appreciation for the two articles by George Bernstein on World Government in your issues of June 5 and 12. It is gratifying to see a survey of this vital issue fairly presenting the various movements in relatively factual proportion. The general tone of periodicals has been to push a United States of Europe and Culbertson's Quota Force to the disparagement of the ultimate One World objective of the rest. Is it because they conceive of Western Europe as an anti-Soviet power bloc? Does the Quota Force plan find its appeal in that it is based on the retention of sovereignty and the reliance upon force to keep an orderly status quo? Orchids to your penetration of the temptation to mollify the world-government pressures with half-baked, flag-draped, short-term attempts to play both sides of the field, winning with none.

FRANCES H. FENNER

Afton, N. Y., July 5

Fifty Years Young

Dear Sirs: George Bernstein's articles on World Government mention a new party in the Netherlands called the "Progressive Party for World Government." You may be interested in knowing that this is not the first political party to espouse world government. Over fifty years ago, toward the end of the Ching Dynasty, Kang Yu Wei organized the Chinese Democratic Constitutional Party, which called, among other things, for the establishment of world peace through world government. Today this party exists in opposition both to the Communists and to the Kuomintang, and operates as an underground movement in all parts of China.

SALLY H. TROPE

United World Federalists

New York, July 7

Establishing the Ghetto

Dear Sirs: I can only take the forming of new inter-racial fraternities (commented on in your issue of July 3) with mixed emotions after reviewing the history of fraternities on the Bowdoin campus. During the war fraternities survived on skeleton crews. At Bowdoin, under the leadership of a few dynamic students—and also the need for survival—fraternities openly pledged a handful of Jews. They even accepted a Negro, the first move of this kind in Greek-fraternity history.

Soon after the initial gesture this radicalism waned, and old pre-war policies were reinstated. As a result, a new solution was sought, and soon with high hopes the Alpha Rho Upsilon fraternity was founded. Alpha Rho Upsilon symbolized "all races united." Here at least seemed some solution of the problem of the socially unwanted in a school in which 85 per cent of the student body (white-Christian) were in fraternities.

But the establishment of A. R. U. clarified only one thing. It cleared the air completely of any further attempts to break down racial barriers and discriminatory clauses. Other Greek-letter fraternities simply excused themselves with "If Jews need fraternity life, let them join the A. R. U." So the ghetto was firmly established. All Races United came to mean "All Refuse United."

What then is the solution? Certainly not setting up detention camps for displaced persons. Part of the answer must come from those "closed-mouth" college administrations which permit fraternities to continue without removing racial clauses; the rest through students and a half-way humane approach to the meaning of "liberal education" in colleges.

WILLIS R. BARNSTONE

Brunswick, Maine, July 7

The Logical Sequel to the Kinsey Report

Dear Sirs: The review of the Kinsey Report (in *The Nation,* May 1) by Martin Gumpert was generally excellent: even though Dr. Gumpert does seem to accept the Kinsey fallacy that statistical norms represent biological and ethical norms, and even though he refers to "prostitution" as a vice.

However, the most important fact about the reviews of the Kinsey Report is that hardly a commentator has revealed the slightest knowledge of the far more important work of René Guyon, which is the logical sequel to the Kinsey book. Those favorable to the report have insisted that it proves the need for a drastic revision of our ethical and legal codes. But apparently these writers, including those who have recently written books of commentary on the report, are completely unaware of the fact that such revised ethical and legal codes already exist, in the six published and four unpublished volumes of Guyon. This extraordinary ignorance of a monumentally important work makes my letter necessary.

It is unfortunate that four of Guyon's published volumes have not been translated into English, and that, because of the delay of the war and the subsequent prohibitive cost of publishing in France, the last four volumes, though ready for the press, are still unpublished. But it is fortunate that the first volume of these "Etudes d'Ethique Sexuelle" has just been published in the United States as "The Ethics of Sexual

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Acts." At the moment, the public which has so eagerly bought the Kinsey book is obviously unaware of the existence and nature of the Guyon book. Yet Dr. Gumpert, who considers it "a most happy social accomplishment" that thousands of people can buy "relief from tension and guilt" for $6.50, might have mentioned that more logically legitimate relief can now be bought for $4, and without any "appalling mass of boring charts and statistics." Indeed, the difference in readability between Kinsey and Guyon is immense; for Guyon is a poet and a stylist—consider the eloquence of pages 176-7 of "The Ethics of Sexual Acts," or the magnificent close of the seventh chapter of "La Persécution des Actes Sexuels: Les Courtisanes."

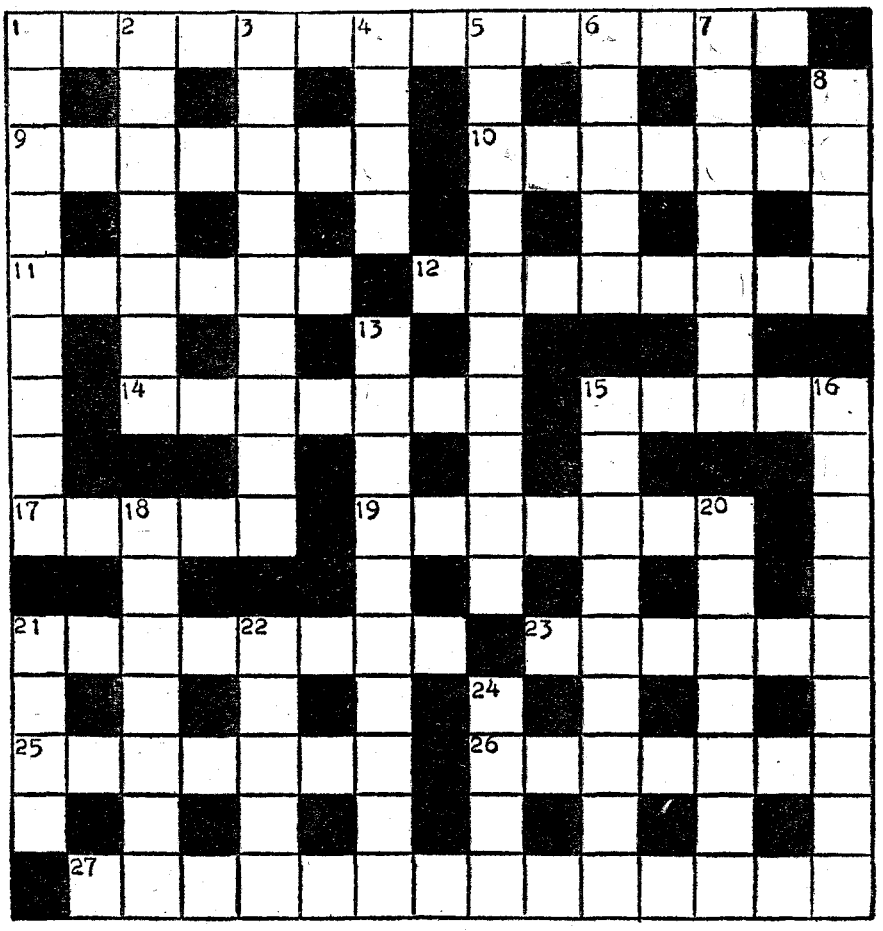
Professor Kinsey spent eight years studying the sex behavior of American males, and then simply published his factual data; whereupon the commentators cry that a new sexual organization of society is needed. René Guyon spent thirty years studying the sex behavior of European and Asiatic males and females, and then spent seventeen years working out the new sexual organization of society that seemed necessitated, and presenting it in ten volumes. Surely this fact deserves at least a fraction of the publicity accorded to the Kinsey Report.

Since the most monumental work on sex ever written is actually unknown to most of the experts, specialists, and authorities in this country, as well as to the general public, it would seem permissible to give a brief outline of its contents, translating the French titles in doing so. Guyon's "Studies in Sexual Ethics," then, consists of nine volumes. The first volume, "The Legitimate Nature of Sexual Acts," was published in England as "Sex Life and Sex Ethics" and in America as "The Ethics of Sexual Acts"; and as the latter it is currently available in bookstores. It should certainly be bought by every person who is interested in the Kinsey Report. In it Guyon logically develops the principle of sexual legitimacy and the mechanistic theory of sexuality, and adversely criticizes the modern concept of romantic or individualized love. The second volume, "Sexual Freedom," was translated and published in England and allowed to go out of print. Therein Guyon discusses the need for sexual freedom and develops its guiding principles and their social consequences.

In the remaining volumes Guyon applies the principles of sexual legiti-

Crossword Puzzle No. 271

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 16, 17, 25 and 12. There's an exception to all the rest. (6, 4, 4, 9, 5, 4, 3, 8)
9 Such parties aren't picnics. (7)
10 Burns told it to forbear screaming. (7)
11 How profits are caught. (6)
12 See 1.
14 Vessel, or he who uses it. (7)
15 Worries about boils. (5)
17 See 1.
19 Objectors who sometimes make their point. (7)
21 Takes part, but seldom leads. (8)
23 Screen. (6)
25 See 1.
26 Little Leo. (4,)
27 He isn't in charge as often as he used to be. (7, 7)

DOWN

1 A large and hairy native of southern Europe. (9)
2 Like Prince Muishkin? (7)
3 Real third of it pertains to a three-way plane collision. (9)
4 Spades, sometimes dirty. (4)
5 They're certainly not all cowards! (6, 4)
6 Willie certainly knows how to take a cue. (5)
7 Game implies hunting it. (7)
8 One of the boys in blue supports culture? (4)
13 He'll never climb to heaven! (10)
15 One does, just before the effect does all but the first. (6, 3)
16. See 1 across.
18 Dante's tomb is here. (7)
20 S–1–51–101–100, of S_1O_2. (7)
21 Magic takes two heads of 21 across. (4)
22 Little state, like a lake in Africa. (5)
24 One may look high or low for this, depending on the sex. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 270

ACROSS:—1 PIECES OF EIGHT; 10 VENAL; 11 SANHEDRIN; 12 CORPORALS; 13 TANGO; 14 FOURTH OF JULY; 19 PREPOSSESSED; 22 IRISH; 24 SHELL GAME; 25 ARGONAUTS; 26 NAIAD; 27 RECRUDESCENCE.

DOWN:—2 IGNORE; 3 CELLO SOLO; 4 SASSAFRAS; 5 FINIS; 6 INERT; 7 HARANGUE; 8 EVICT; 9 ANTONYM; 15 HOSTESSES; 16 FREELANCE; 17 OPTICAL; 18 MERINGUE; 20 MANIAC; 21 VENDS; 23 HONOR; 24 SOUND.

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macy and freedom to the various sexual problems of society. In "The Revision of the Classic Institutions" he considers marriage and the family in relation to reproduction, and outlines the modern objections to these institutions. In "A Rational Policy of Human Reproduction" he discusses the population problem, the defects of the classic institutions in this regard, the various suggested methods of remedying these defects (free union, polygamy, polyandry, legal concubinage, trial marriage, companionate marriage); and he then formulates his own policy of rational procreation, entailing four basic revolutionary reforms. In "A Rational Policy of Sexual Pleasure" he contrasts the pro-sexual societies of antiquity and the Orient with the anti-sexual society of modern Europe and America, and argues for sexual comradeship as a superior substitute for individualized love (criticized in Volume I). In "The Persecution of the Courtesan" he documents the modern repressive policy toward courtesanship, shows the vicious social results of this policy, and demonstrates the legitimate nature and immense social usefulness of the profession of the courtesan. It would be difficult to imagine a more important volume today, when suppressive policies are everywhere in full force. "The Persecution of Sexual Acts" discusses the so-called venereal diseases, the persecution of sexual intermediaries, the "sexual slavery" of children, and the "bluff of pornography." He establishes that, admitting the legitimacy of sexual acts, there is nothing indecent or objectionable about pornography and obscenity; and frankly faces the fact that human beings naturally enjoy lewd dances, lascivious feminine costumes, pornographic pictures, and obscene books, exactly as they enjoy the various sexual acts that Kinsey finds so common. In "The Puritan Terror in Modern Society" Guyon discusses the puritan offensive and the restrictions on personal liberty which it has caused; and he criticizes the pseudo-social and psuedo-scientific methods of the governments, social organizations, and alleged scientists who allow themselves to be influenced by the puritan offensive. (The section, and the ninth chapter of "The Ethics of Sexual Acts," where Guyon criticizes psychiatry and psychoanalysis, remind us of Dr. Gumpert's assertion that psychoanalysts are among the most militant enemies of the Kinsey Report.) In the final volume, "The Organization of a Pro-Sexual Society," Guyon formulates his blueprint for the world of tomorrow, covering the intermingling of races, sexual hospitality, festivals and amusements, the rightful position of the courtesan, the sexual life of children, the organization of pro-sexual propoganda, and the action against anti-sexual and puritanical laws.

But this mighty work is supplemented by a tenth volume, "The Abolition of Sex Offenses from the Penal Code," which covers the same ground from the legal point of view, criticizes our present laws from the angle of sexual legitimacy and personal liberty, and outlines in full detail the code of laws which is necessitated by our present knowledge.

"The Ethics of Sexual Acts" is now, fortunately, available to the American public that has read, or attempted to read, the Kinsey Report. And a one-volume abridgment, in English, of the nine-volume work, similar to the Toynbee abridgment, will certainly follow. The special legal volume, however, should be translated and published separately. It is the logical sequel to the Kinsey Report. As such, its American publication is imperative.

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